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HARVARD STUDIES IN CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY

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D. R. Shackleton Bailey
Editor

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SEQUENCE AND SIMULTANEITY IN *ILIAD* N, E, AND O

CEDRIC H. WHITMAN AND RUTH SCODEL¹

THE Great Battle which occupies the central position within the *Iliad* falls easily into discrete sections: the Wounding of the Chiefs is followed by the *Teichomachia*, the Achaean defeat by the rally led by Poseidon and the Deception of Zeus, Zeus' awakening by the Greek retreat and Battle by the Ships; the climax, of course, is the *Patrocleia*, which has its coda in the fight over Patroclus' corpse. The long struggle is the most sustained and elaborate development of the technique of *αὐξήσις* in the epic, for the importance of the battle to the poem is matched, doubtless according to a traditional technique, by its length.² Naturally, this expansion presented the poet with certain problems. As a whole the battle must represent the fulfillment of the Plan of Zeus, and the audience has been offered a double announcement of its course in Zeus' warning to Hera at *Θ* 470-483 and Achilles' pledge at *I* 650-655.³ Hence even before the day of battle dawns, it is known to the reader that there will be fighting at the ships and that Patroclus is to die; Achilles has announced that he will fight when Hector reaches the ships of the Myrmidons. The narrative of *Λ* and *Μ* tends directly toward the expected goals. Moreover, from Nestor's advice to Patroclus at *Λ* 790-803 we gain an even clearer picture of what is to come. Once Nestor suggests to Patroclus that Achilles might send his friend to fight in his place, we know that this, Nestor's second alternative, will be the course of the narrative.⁴ At this point the main direction of the action is firmly established. But the need to expand so important an event as the

¹ The nucleus of this paper had its origins in notes left by Cedric Whitman at his death. The actual composition and argument are mine, and it is not certain that he would agree with all the conclusions presented here.—R.S.

² J. N. H. Austin, "The Function of Digressions in the *Iliad*," *GRBS* 7 (1966), 295-312, discusses the regular association of significance with length.

³ These announcements follow W. Schadewaldt's "Insufficiency" ("Unge-nauigkeit") principle, described in *Iliasstudien* (Darmstadt, 3rd ed. 1966), 110 and 140, whereby the audience is constantly *partially* informed as to what is to come.

⁴ It is a natural rule that where two possibilities are given, the second, and weaker, will be fulfilled (otherwise it would not be mentioned); cf. the Cyclops' alternatives in his prayer at *Od.* ι 528-535.

battle, the desire for variation, and the impulse to allow the Achaeans some glory even in their defeat all converge to require a break in the pattern. Therefore, at the beginning of *N*, as the Trojans stream over the wall (and Patroclus is still with Eurypylus, where he was left at *A* 848), the direction of the action is reversed, and the Achaeans rally. This rally and its reversal are the subject of the poem until *O* 384 ff, where the Trojans once again cross the wall, and the situation is in all essentials exactly what it was at *M* 471.

This entire sequence, therefore, is circular, a kind of retarding detour; but it is a highly complex detour and, on a first encounter at least, among the most confusing sections of Homeric epic. It begins as Zeus "turns his eyes away" from the battle, not expecting any god to intervene; but Poseidon immediately prepares to enter the field. At *N* 38 he reaches the army, and proceeds to inspire the two Ajaxes, then (83 ff) others. At 162–168 Meriones loses his spear and goes to fetch another. The death of Amphimachus occupies the interval between his departure and a scene behind the lines, where Poseidon inspires Idomeneus, who is then joined by Meriones.⁵ When these two re-enter battle together, the field is explicitly divided (326–327): the Cretans have their *aristeia* on the left, while Ajax, as we know from Idomeneus' speech at 312–327, is holding Hector off in the center. At 726 attention is returned to Hector, who regroups the Trojans and prepares for an attack on Ajax. Surprisingly, however, the developing duel breaks off after the exchange of speeches at 809–832. Though one might expect spears to follow words, Hector at 833 leads a general attack, "Ὡς ἄρα φωνήσας ἡγήσατο, as both armies shout.

The following book opens as Nestor hears (apparently) this shouting as he sits in his tent.⁶ He goes to Agamemnon. The chiefs talk, and decide to enter the field to exhort others, despite their wounds; Poseidon appears to incite Agamemnon as they go, and ends with a great shout. Hera at *E* 153 sees his activity and is roused to prepare the *Διὸς ἀπάτη*. When the seduction is accomplished and Zeus is asleep, Hypnos informs Poseidon that Zeus is unconscious (*E* 357–360). The armies regroup (with the Greeks performing the infamous exchange of armor at 370 ff) and shout (393–401); at last Ajax and Hector meet, and

⁵ The timing of this episode is discussed by Zielinski (cited, n.7, below), pp. 422–425.

⁶ Nestor has, in accordance with normal practice, been left in limbo since *A*, and is therefore still drinking with Machaon. Ancient critics, not recognizing the technique, were distressed by the possibility that Nestor was drinking wine all this time. The A Sch. ad loc. (*E* 1) comments: ἀπρεπὲς δέ τινες οἰηθέντες εἶναι καὶ οὐ κατὰ πρεσβύτην τὸ πίνειν, ἐπὶ τὸ ἰαχὴ στίξαντες τὰ ἐξῆς συνάπτουσι "πίνοντά περ ἔμπης / ἄλλ' Ἀσκληπιάδην."

Hector, nearly killed, is removed behind the lines. After some mixed fighting, the Trojans are put to flight, but once they are past the ditch, Zeus awakens at O 4. Hera, after denying on oath that she is responsible for Poseidon's intervention, goes to Olympus on Zeus' orders and sends Iris and Apollo to him. Iris then persuades Poseidon to leave the field, and Apollo revives Hector. At O 306 the Trojans turn and begin to recover the ground they have lost, led by Apollo, until again they pour over the wall and the circle is complete.

While such a summary ignores not only many details, but many real problems, it makes the basic outline of the Achaean rally clear. The first task for anyone who tries to clarify this series of events must be to elucidate the actual temporal sequence. The temporal peculiarities of Homer's narrative have been familiar since Zielinski formulated his rule: no two actions in the epic are ever presented as simultaneous, for the narrative never twice traverses the same temporal space.⁷ Where two actions logically would occur at the same time, one is artificially placed after the other, sometimes with explicit false synchronism. *Iliad* O 150-235 is the classic example: Zeus sends Iris to Poseidon; he hesitates, full of resentment against Zeus; at last she convinces him to yield. Only then, at 220, does Zeus turn to Apollo, as if the two gods had been frozen into immobility on Ida during Iris' mission. In the *Odyssey*, the operation of this rule is even more remarkable. Although the gods decide at their opening council that Odysseus will be freed from Calypso, and Athena at α 84 ff suggests that Hermes be sent to the nymph, the Telemachy causes this action to be delayed until ε, where a second council is used to reintegrate the action. The two strands apparently could not be depicted as occupying the same section of time, though the poet, at ε 21 ff, shows himself aware of the oddity this causes.⁸

When a line of narrative is dropped, through the regular device of changing the scene, the poet often returns to the original locale without the situation's having altered in the interval. Once a scene is relegated to the background, it can remain unchanged indefinitely: hence the Nestor who leaves the stage at A 803 is still drinking in his tent at E 1. Here time seems to stand still. This method can also be used, however, for interventions in the action. Poseidon is introduced at N 10. He makes his preparations, and reaches the field at N 38; the military situation there is an immediate continuation of what it was when the poet last

⁷ T. Zielinski, *Die Behandlung gleichzeitiger Ereignisse im antiken Epos*, Philologus Suppl. VIII, Heft 3 (1901).

⁸ On the peculiarities of composition here see T. Krischer, *Formale Konventionen der homerischen Epik*, Zetemata 56 (1971), 95-96.

described the battlefield at *M* 471. Because the battle is clearly the main narrative, and Poseidon's actions merely a way of introducing the god into this main narrative, the effect is less that of a static background than of an instantaneous intervention. A character's entry at a moment of crisis is placed between two passages describing the crisis itself: the intervention is introduced at the last possible moment and occupies, in one sense, no time.⁹

Hence we have what Zielinski calls "scheinbare" and "wirkliche Handlung." The logical sequence of events does not correspond to the conventional form of narration. In this section of the *Iliad*, from the end of *M* to the middle of *O*, real and apparent sequence are deliberately manipulated. This is clearest at the opening of *Ξ*. Nestor is roused by hearing a shout which we cannot but assume is the shout of the immediately preceding lines, *N* 834–837. Yet when he goes outside his tent, the situation he sees is not that of the end of the previous book, but more closely resembles that of *M* 471 / *N* 41, before the rally (*Ξ* 13–15):

τάχα δ' εἶσιδεν ἔργον ἀεικές,
τοὺς μὲν ὀρινομένους, τοὺς δὲ κλονέοντας ὀπισθε
Τρῶας ὑπερθύμους· ἑρέριπτο δὲ τεῖχος Ἀχαιῶν.

In the earlier scene, too, the disastrous situation was accompanied by a great shout, in each case specified as coming from near the ships (*Ξ* 4, *παρὰ νηυσὶ* / *M* 471, *νήας ἀνὰ γλαφυράς*). One might then argue that it is, in fact, this earlier shout which Nestor hears, and that the narrative here goes backward in time.¹⁰ Such a reading, however, not only violates a familiar and well-established rule of Homeric narrative, but also demands that we ignore our initial, and inevitable, understanding of the *ἰαχή* of *Ξ* 1. Yet what Nestor sees is obviously not the evenly matched battle of the end of the preceding book. In some sense, therefore, the shout must represent two different moments. In the apparent time of the narrative it links the scene behind the lines to the battle, while in "real" time it marks a shift. In repeating the earlier motif it suggests the earlier moment. Thus Nestor is aroused where he logically ought to be, for one would not expect him to be unmoved by

⁹ For this technique see Krischer (above, n.8), and B. Hellwig, *Raum und Zeit im homerischen Epos* (Hildesheim, 1964), 126–128.

¹⁰ This suggestion, and the further suggestion that the Deception of Zeus also represents a reversion in time, was made by G. W. Nitzsch in *Die Sagenpoesie der Griechen* (Braunschweig, 1852), 240–245; W. Leaf argued against this theory in his commentary (London, 1902; rpt. Amsterdam, 1971), II, 62–63. Krischer, cited above, argues for the simultaneity of battle, council, and Deception, and points to the repeated shout motif (though not to all its appearances); this paper is greatly indebted to his work.

the catastrophe when the wall is overrun and he is roused to seek Agamemnon only by the interrupted conflict of Ajax and Hector. The shift backward is signaled, but left implicit; the repeated shout allows it to be fitted smoothly into an apparently continuous line.

This same device is then used to provide a link between the council and the Deception of Zeus. Once again, it makes little sense for Hera to wait as long as she seems to wait before acting to help Poseidon. Moreover, the device which allows Poseidon's original intervention is patently thin; Zeus' turning away of his eyes at N 1-9 is an irrational intrusion, or, to put it more fairly, an obvious and functional piece of machinery. The council concludes with Poseidon's encouragement of Agamemnon, which he follows with a great shout (E 147-151); this great cry seems to have been introduced as a link to the Deception, which follows, for it is at this point that Hera notices Poseidon's activity. This cry should serve the same purpose as the cry heard by Nestor; in "wirkliche Handlung" it is, indeed, identical with that cry. The shout heard by Nestor is both the conclusion of the duel and the original shout at the wall's capture, while the yell of Poseidon is both the conclusion of the council and, again, the shout at the wall. In this context, the story as we follow it in "real" time has far greater logic. Hera's activities begin at the same time as Poseidon's, her elaborate preparations correspond precisely and elegantly to Poseidon's journey at N 17-38, and Zeus does not notice what Poseidon is doing because he is already preoccupied with his wife: he actually falls asleep just before Ajax strikes Hector.

The shouting, however, does not end at E 147. Both Achaeans and Trojans shout as the two armies clash in the battle which follows the Deception, just before the long-awaited combat of the two greatest heroes, at E 402 ff. This shout is amplified by a whole series of similes (E 393-401). Thus this shout serves to frame the two episodes which are inserted into the duel of Ajax and Hector, and marks a return to the main line of the narrative:

Duel Broken Off	
	Shout N 834-837
Council of Chiefs	
	Shout E 147-150
Seduction of Zeus	
	Shout E 393-401
Duel Resumed	

The conference of chiefs and the Seduction would be, in a version in

which time was realistically presented, parallel with the battle whose climax would be the grand encounter of the two heroes; but on the surface, in the "scheinbare Handlung," they are neatly bracketed interruptions. The neatness of the scheme strongly suggests that the poet deliberately organized his action so as to maintain the illusion of a continually progressing narrative while marking the "real" time. The shouts provide both true and false synchronism. Each shout signals the end of a given segment; within each segment natural and apparent time coincide. At the joints which divide these segments, the hearer may accept the artificial surface time or recognize the backward shift.

Given this method, the interrupted combat of Ajax and Hector, though unusual, is no longer untraditional and incomprehensible.¹¹ It is broken only on the level of apparent time, and the two insertions serve to emphasize its importance: the wounded leaders are roused in order that they may participate in the marshaling which introduces it, while Zeus, if Ajax is to have the decided success the poet allows him, must not only be distracted, but actually asleep. This combat is the central event of the Greek rally. As long as Achilles is angry, Ajax is the greatest warrior of the Achaeans (*B* 768–769), and naturally his confrontation with the Trojan leader will be the climax of the Greek recovery, as his inability to halt Hector will make the defeat at *O* and *Π* particularly his defeat. Hence the preparations for this encounter form the "Hauptstrang" of the rally. It is first suggested in the battle over Ascalaphus at *N* 190–194, and then delayed by the *aristeia* of the Cretans on the left. This sequence is simultaneous with the battle in the center, which is briefly resumed at *N* 673–722 after the *aristeia* of Idomeneus and Meriones, before the regrouping of the Trojans suggested by Polydamas at *N* 273 ff. In content this *aristeia* is clearly subordinate and functional. Whatever may be the origin of the traditional material it contains, its function within the *Iliad* is less to glorify the Cretan heroes than to retard the crucial action in the center by providing a Trojan

¹¹ It is thus regarded by B. Fenik, *Typical Battle Scenes in the Iliad*, *Hermes Einzelschriften* 21 (1968), 156–158. He finds the two halves of the interrupted combat stylistically related, following W. Friedrich, *Verwundung und Tod in der Ilias*, *Abh. der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Klasse*, 38 (1956). The interruption is perhaps not entirely unparalleled; the Theomachy is broken off almost as abruptly at *Y* 132 ff and is not resumed until *Φ* 383. The same formula is even used at breaking off in *Y* 144 as in *N* 833, "Ὡς ἄρα φωνήσας ἡγήσατο. The case of Asios might also be relevant: *M* 108 ff leads us to expect his death, since he disregards the obviously wise advice of Polydamas. But at 172 the narrative suddenly abandons him, and he does not reappear until *N* 384 ff, where he is killed by Idomeneus. But the horse and charioteer, which distinguished him in the earlier book, are mentioned again as a linking motif.

equivalent to the wounding of the chiefs.¹² In offering a second wing of battle, this section extends the scope of the action in space as well as time and contributes to a kind of spurious realism.¹³ And it offers a reason for Hector's ignorance of the actual situation, which then motivates the remarshaling of the Trojans; this marshaling sequence is then a suitable prelude to the duel.

The combat between Ajax and Hector is not simply prepared, broken, and then resumed. Rather it is reintegrated with all due amplification into the narrative after the two long insertions. The poet doubtless felt that the digressions were too long to allow him simply to drop affairs on the battlefield and return to them later without the situation's having altered in the meanwhile. Thus, when he has fulfilled the preconditions for the critical clash, he marks the reestablishment of time with the shout at E 393-401, which marks the point at which the "wirkliche Handlung" is where it was at the moment the single combat was interrupted. Although on the surface the events which follow the Deception of Zeus do not closely resemble those of the portion of N which follows the Cretans' *aristeia*, thematically one is a "recovery" of the other. They observe the same basic sequence of traditional elements, with exhortation, marshaling, and a simile as the armies meet:

N		E
775	Exhortation (Paris)	364 Exhortation (Poseidon)
788	Marshaling (Hector)	370 ff Marshaling and exchange of armor
		388 Marshaling (Hector)
795	Simile of rough sea	394 Similes: sea, wind, fire
809	Exchange of speeches	402 Exchange of blows

¹² Leaf, v. II, p. 1: "The *aristeia* of Idomeneus . . . is composed for the special honor of Cretan heroes." It may, of course, have derived from Cretan tradition. The poet's choices for a secondary *aristeia*, however, were severely limited at this point, since most of the main heroes are wounded, and even Menelaus is being saved for his role in the battle for the corpse of Patroclus.

¹³ Homeric realism in military matters is in general spurious. It is sometimes thought that the author of this section was especially interested in the details of warfare; P. Mazon, in *Introduction à l'Iliade* (Paris, 1943, rpt. 1967), p. 192, calls him a "professional." Yet the disappearance of the wall during the *aristeia* of Idomeneus is of a piece with the right wing of battle, which is mentioned at N 308, but which is never actually described: nothing in the poem ever happens there. An impression of realism may be given, but tactics and topography exist only at the poet's convenience. Similarly, wounds are restricted by formulaic conventions (spears strike the right, never the left shoulder) or are extravagant fantasies. Combat follows the various minor rules pointed out by Fenik (see n.11, above). Battle is impressive, exciting, and preferably credible, but not accurate.

The marshaling theme is more elaborately developed in the second use of the sequence, as befits a version leading to genuine combat; the speeches, on the other hand, do not need to be repeated. But in essence the action of *Ε* is a recapitulation. Once again time is manipulated. The poet gives us a choice between the apparent sequence of events in a linear progression and a "real" sequence in which time can be reversed or repeated.

In this view, complexity and a certain irrationality are characteristic not of the story itself as imagined by the poet, but of his narrative conventions, which allow not only artificial and contrived time, but contrived events. On one level Zeus has his eyes turned toward Thrace during the first part of the Achaean rally, while on another he is already occupied with Hera. The two insertions of council and Deception occur on one level at the same time as what precedes; on another level they occupy a period during which other action is static or are beyond time altogether. The entire narrative of the rally and its reversal is temporally peculiar. It is opposed to the Plan of Zeus, and, when he awakes, the restoration of order requires the undoing of all that has been done. The entire segment ends with yet another great shout at *O* 384. At 390 ff, Patroclus is finally roused, and leaves Eurypylus. Commentators have been vexed by the temporal sequence here.¹⁴ Which shout is it that he hears, and which attack does he see (*O* 395–396)?:

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ τεῖχος ἐπεσσυμένους ἐνόησε
Τρῶας, ἀτὰρ Δαναῶν γένετο ἰαχὴ τε φόβος τε . . .

One naturally assumes, as one did in the case of Nestor at *Ε* 1, that this is the immediately preceding attack, and that the shout is the shout of *O* 384. Yet if that is the case, Patroclus has been with Eurypylus for an unconscionably long time and has apparently failed entirely to notice the first crossing of the wall. On the other hand, his journey from Eurypylus' tent can hardly be imagined to require the whole Achaean rally and subsequent defeat for its duration. Patroclus' arrival is meticulously timed, being carefully placed between two passages which describe Ajax' final retreat. The temporal connection of these passages is marked by the repeated line *O* 727 / *Π* 102, so that the simultaneity of the inserted scene can be in no doubt (a very straightforward example of "reintegration" after a brief insertion). Each shout has marked a step backward: Nestor at *Ε* 1 hears the shout of *N* 833–835, which recovers

¹⁴ E.g. Leaf's introduction to *O*, v. II, p. 103: "... it is impossible to say what are the times alluded to in 391 and 395."

by evocation that of *M* 471 / *N* 41, while Hera responds to Poseidon's cry at *E* 148–151, which in “wirkliche Handlung” is again that of *M* 471. All these are, on one level, a single shout. The shout at *E* 393–401, however, does not serve exactly the same purpose, nor recall exactly the same moment, as the others. Rather it serves to frame the episodes which interrupt the forward movement, and instead of recovering the moment at which the Trojans crossed the wall, it returns to the point at which the forward progress of the narrative was broken, at *N* 834–837, and establishes the restoration of normal time. The shout, by marking the end of a segment, shows that a backward shift is in question but cannot by itself indicate how the segments are to be coordinated.

It seems most in accord with the poet's method to regard *O* 384 as a final framing shout. It closes the circle, and thus fulfills both functions we have assigned the shout: like the shouts heard by Nestor and Hera, it essentially returns the poem to the situation of *M* 471, and like the shout at *E* 393–401, it concludes and frames a break in the narrative. All that takes place between *M* 471 and *O* 384 is in a sense irrelevant for Patroclus, for his role in the poem depends on the Plan of Zeus, and in this section the Plan is in abeyance. Being, as it is, outside the scheme which forms the main plot of the poem, the rally and its reversal are also, for this purpose, outside time. Of course, the rally is real. The warriors wounded in its course do not immediately return to battle after its end, nor do those killed come back from Hades.¹⁵ Nonetheless, it has no real effect on the main action. Thus it becomes unnecessary to ask which shout Patroclus hears, for the second is a re-creation of the first. What matters is the content of the moment which rouses him, the taking of the wall. He leaves Eurypylus as the Trojans cross the wall, pleads with Achilles as Ajax is at last forced back, and prepares to enter battle as the ship of Protesilaus burns. On the surface, it must be the second taking of the wall which he notices, but it is not a problem that he has failed to notice the first, for the two are essentially the same.

This may help explain one group of inconsistencies in the various allusions to the wall. At the end of *M*, Hector breaks the gate, and the Trojans attack the ships, some coming through the gate itself, others apparently climbing over the wall (*M* 469–470), which has lost its *ἐπαλξίς* at Sarpedon's hands (*M* 397–399). Throughout *N*, the wall still seems to be basically intact; there are references to the wall at *N* 50, 87, and 737, while the breaking of the gate is alluded to at *N* 124 and 679 (where, however, the same verb is used for wall and gates: ἀλλ' ἔχεν ᾗ

¹⁵ Ascalaphus, whose death causes trouble on Olympus (*O* 112 ff); Asios; and Deiphobus and Helenus, who are wounded. (Sarpedon, who is saved for the *Patrocleia*, is in evidence only once between *M* and *Π*, at *E* 426).

τὰ πρῶτα πύλας καὶ τεῖχος ἐσάλτο). Before the second assault, Apollo himself kicks in the sides of the trench to make it passable and then overturns the great wall as if it were a child's sandcastle (*O* 361 ff):

ἔρειπε δὲ τεῖχος Ἀχαιῶν
 ῥεῖα μάλ', ὥς ὅτε τις ψάμαθον πάϊς ἄγχι θαλάσσης
 ὅς τ' ἐπεὶ οὖν ποιήσῃ ἀθύρματα νηπιέησι,
 αἰψ αὖτις συνέχευε ποσὶν καὶ χερσὶν ἀθύρων.

Yet the wall has already been said to have collapsed when Nestor sees it at *E* 15: ἐρέριπτο δὲ τεῖχος Ἀχαιῶν. The verb *κατερήριπεν* is used of the wall at *E* 55. Yet at *O* 345 the Achaeans are said to go behind the wall, and at 384, the Trojans *κατὰ τεῖχος ἔβαινον*, though the same verb was used at *N* 737, when the wall was apparently still intact. Doubtless Homer has nodded, and there is no reason to think that military accuracy was among his goals. Yet the nod is easier to understand if he regarded the two crossings of the wall as one. The taking of the wall is an action performed by both a god and a man, like the slaying of Patroclus in this poem, or the slaying of Achilles in tradition.¹⁶ But in order to accommodate the Achaean rally, it is performed twice, once by Hector alone, once by Apollo alone. The second time Apollo effectively destroys the wall, for the poet has no further use for it. Since in the poet's mind, however, the two are one, the backward shift at the beginning of *E* causes him to forget that the wall has been breached, but has not yet collapsed. When the Greeks flee before Apollo and Hector, the poet is naturally aware of the wall again, since he is about to destroy it. At 384 the Trojans again cross the wall. On a literal level one could say that the poet here speaks loosely of the wall's ruins, but it could also be said that the second crossing echoes the first. It is the thematic repetition that matters.

Beneath the confusing surface of the battle narrative is an elegant and simple structure. The entire sequence could be represented in outline:

First Crossing of Wall, Shout <i>M</i> 471 / <i>N</i> 41		
(Battle)		
Preparation for Duel		
Shout <i>N</i> 385	Nestor-Council scene	Shout <i>E</i> 147
Shout <i>E</i> 147	Deception of Zeus	Shout <i>E</i> 393
Duel of Ajax and Hector		
(Battle)		
Second Crossing of Wall, Shout <i>O</i> 384		

¹⁶ For Patroclus, especially notable is his own summary at *II* 849-850; for Achilles, *X* 359-360 and Aeschylus, fr. 284 Mette (350 *N*²).

After the wall is taken, the action is dominated on the human level by the confrontation between Hector and Ajax, first in their long-delayed and elaborately prepared single combat, and then in the forced retreat of Ajax; on the divine level, the attempt of the two deities to thwart the will of Zeus motivates the action until the beginning of O, where Zeus' reassertion of control obliterates their temporary success.

At least one further peculiarity remains. Once we imagine that in "wirkliche Handlung" both Poseidon and Hera are inspired to act by the Trojans' crossing of the wall, Zeus' curious act of turning his eyes can be seen as a device of the surface narrative of the same kind as a false synchronism, and hence as requiring no "inner" explanation. Yet the difference in times involves even more serious differences in actual narrative. If Hera and Poseidon are acting at the same time, it seems natural to believe that in reality they are also acting in concert. This, however, is explicitly denied by the surface narrative.

The poet seems to have prepared for a conspiracy of Hera and Poseidon as early as Θ 198–211. As Hector pursues Nestor and Diomedes, Hera in anger asks Poseidon why the gods who favor the Achaeans do not restrain Zeus. He, however, refuses to join her in opposing Zeus (209–211):

*"Ἡρῃ ἀπτοεπές, ποῖον τὸν μῦθον ἔειπες.
οὐκ ἂν ἔγωγ' ἐθέλοιμι Διὶ Κρονίῳνι μάχεσθαι
ἡμέας τοὺς ἄλλους, ἐπεὶ ἦ πολὺ φέρτερός ἐστιν.*

This exchange is broken off and leads nowhere. Rather, Hera and Athena try to intervene in the battle but are frustrated when Zeus threatens them with the thunderbolt. Yet Poseidon seems to have changed his mind by the following day. Not only does he participate in battle (at first λάθρῃ, E 352, 354), but he is depicted as willing to risk a direct confrontation with Zeus until Iris at O 201–204 persuades him to yield. Even then he insists that Zeus would be ill-advised to spare Ilium against his will and that of the other pro-Argive gods (O 212–217).

In the surface narrative, Hera is inspired simply by seeing Poseidon at work, and though she distracts Zeus for his benefit, her involvement is not requested by him, nor does she inform him of her intentions. When she has succeeded in lulling Zeus, Hypnos bears a message to Poseidon without instructions from her, so no agreement between the two is made (E 357–360):¹⁷

¹⁷ Sch. T preserves two lines (E 241 a–b) which show that a would-be interpolator found something lacking here:

*αὐτὰρ ἐπὴν δὴ νῶϊ κατευνηθέντες ἴδῃαι,
ἀγγεῖλαι τὰδε πάντα Ποσειδάωνι ἄνακτι.*

Sch. T has a similar "filling-in" interpolation at E 351 a.

πρόφρων νῦν Δαναοῖσι, Ποσειδάων, ἐπάμννε,
καί σφιν κῦδος ὄπαζε μίνυνθά περ, ὄφρ' ἔτι εὔδῃ
Ζεὺς, ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ ἐγὼ μαλακὸν περὶ κῶμ' ἐκάλνψα.
Ἥρη δ' ἐν φιλότῃ παρήπαφεν εὐνηθῆναι.

Thus the surface provides the effect of conspiracy without its substance. In fact, conspiracy is emphatically denied. Hera evades Zeus' anger by swearing by Gaea and Uranus, Zeus' head, their marriage bed, and the Styx that she is not responsible for Poseidon's intervention (O 41-44):

μὴ δὲ ἐμὴν ἰότητα Ποσειδάων ἐνοσίχθων
πημαίνει Τρῳάς τε καὶ Ἑκτορα, τοῖσι δ' ἀρήγει,
ἀλλὰ που αὐτὸν θυμὸς ἐποτρύνει καὶ ἀνώγει,
τειρομένους δ' ἐπὶ νηυσὶν ἰδὼν ἐλέησεν Ἀχαιούς.

An oath by the Styx must, technically at least, be true, if the swearer is not to suffer the consequences of perjury, whatever ambiguities the oath may conceal. If Hera's oath is less than forthright, her husband's reply (as he "smiles," O 47, is equally ambiguous (49-52):

εἰ μὲν δὴ σύ γ' ἔπειτα, βοῶπις πότνια Ἥρη,
ἶσον ἐμοὶ φρονέουσα μετ' ἀθανάτοισι καθίζεις,
τῷ κε Ποσειδάων γε, καὶ εἰ μάλα βούλεται ἄλλη,
αἶψα μεταστρέψειε νόον μετὰ σὸν καὶ ἐμὸν κῆρ.

The irony of these lines is patent.¹⁸ Zeus does more than recognize the obvious fact that Hera had intended to help Poseidon; he implies that Poseidon would never dare (and would not have dared) to oppose him without her support. His ironic tone serves to emphasize the ambiguity of their cooperation. There is no conspiracy, but they act as if there were. Beneath the surface of the narrative, where Hera's oath must be true, is another level, at which one can almost imagine that Hera and Poseidon have agreed on a scheme of action: inspired by the crisis of the wall, Hera busies herself with Zeus while Poseidon rallies the Achaeans; when Zeus is safely asleep, she sends Hypnos with the message; Poseidon no longer helps the Achaeans secretly or with restraint, but directs the battle to Ajax' defeat of Hector.

Such a conspiracy may have been familiar to the audience and entirely traditional, but one can hardly say that the poet simply forgot to include a scene in which Hera managed to persuade Poseidon to join,

¹⁸ ἔπειτα is particularly strong in conveying the ironic tone, whether temporal ("in future") or inferential.

as an oral poet may on occasion forget even an important episode.¹⁹ Nor is an audience intended simply to imagine that a scene of agreement between the two gods has taken place without being described. Rather, the conspiracy is at once evoked and suppressed. As long as we accept the apparent timing of the story, it is scarcely suggested, though the motives of the gods, especially Poseidon, are left unclear. If we try to imagine the real time, the conspiracy seems to be present as an organizing principle without being present in reality. It is glanced at, but not actually used. Even if no such conspiracy of Hera and Poseidon against Zeus were familiar from tradition, the type of incident surely was, so that a version in which Hera and the seagod acted by previous arrangement would be an obvious possibility. The poet does not follow such a version, although certain features of the actual version, especially when the real sequence is re-created — and the structure shows that the real sequence was clear to the poet and perhaps his hearers — recall one.²⁰

The poet could, perhaps, have employed the conspiracy directly by making it the structural basis of the surface narrative. An agreement between the two divinities would have introduced a “branching” at the opening of *N*.²¹ In accordance with the standard technique of Homeric epic, once two parallel lines for the action had been established, the first would be completed before the second had begun. In this case, logic would require that Hera’s actions precede those of Poseidon, since hers are undertaken to facilitate his. Thus, had this common method of treating simultaneous actions been followed, Hera would first seduce Zeus, and then, when Zeus was sound asleep, Poseidon would begin his intervention. This method would have allowed the poet to dispense with the artificial device of Zeus’ looking the other way; but *Odyssey* 1, 213–215, where Odysseus explains that he brought the powerful wine with him on his exploring trip on the Cyclops’ island because he ex-

¹⁹ Parry 804 shows an oral singer omitting an important scene in expanding a song; see A. B. Lord, *The Singer of Tales* (Cambridge, Mass., 1960), 114–115 and 235–241.

²⁰ The same technique is probably at work in the *Odyssey*, where so many of Penelope’s actions, especially, would make more sense if she has already recognized Odysseus, though the poem makes it quite clear that she has not. This kind of ambiguity is probably not mere inadvertence or lack of skill (as it is treated by, for example, G. S. Kirk in *The Songs of Homer*, Cambridge, 1962, pp. 244–247), but an accepted method, essentially the same attitude which allows Pindar to deny that Pelops was chopped up and partially eaten while leaving him his ivory shoulder.

²¹ “Branching” is Krischer’s term (“Verzweigung”); for the technique, see Krischer (above, n.8), pp. 103 ff.

pected to meet something like Polyphemus, is enough to prove how tolerant poet and audience doubtless were of such transparent devices. And in return for avoiding an illogicality at the surface level, the plot would lose its gradual development of disorder. The technique of placing intervention at the last possible moment, as it is used in the Deception, puts our attention firmly on the relation between this intervention and its result. Zeus' plan is in disarray as soon as Poseidon enters the field, but the climax of disorder, when Ajax strikes Hector, is highly marked by Zeus' actual sleep. Moreover, if the divine interventions were the result of a conspiracy described in advance and progressing according to plan, the gods' intentions would be the main determinants of the story, and sequence and structure would depend on them. As it is, the main strand is the battle itself, with its center in Ajax and Hector. The gods fulfill their proper role in the poem, that of augmenting and emphasizing the human action. The Great Battle is dominated not by the squabbles of Olympus, but by the desperate situation on the battlefield.

The Achaean rally, then, is expanded differently in apparent and "real" time. On the surface it occupies a great deal of time. In "*wirkliche Handlung*," on the other hand, it has a great extension in space. The battle is fought on two wings (and there is allusion to a third) with Poseidon's help encouraging the Achaeans. The wounded leaders discuss the crisis behind the lines and eventually advance to exhort their troops, as Agamemnon, too, is roused by Poseidon. Hera goes to Ida and beguiles Zeus. At the climax of the rally, Hera succeeds in putting Zeus to sleep, the chiefs marshal the Greek army, Poseidon leads them, and Ajax brings Hector to apparent death. The Trojans are routed. Yet on Zeus' awakening, this grandiose structure quickly collapses. Hera is sent back to Olympus to fetch Iris and Apollo. Soon Poseidon is back in the depths of the sea, while Apollo leads a revived Hector and the resurgent Trojans over the remains of the wall against an army which is once again in desperate straits, making a vain effort to defend the ships. Here the elaborate digression at last recircles back on itself, and the two temporal levels are finally joined. The figure of Patroclus, which has been in the background as yet another strand through all the events of the battle around the wall, rejoins the narrative, and normal forward motion is restored. The Plan of Zeus is all the more impressive for the long delay. Skillfully the poet manages to hint at an opposition to Zeus more concerted, and thus more threatening, than his plot allows, and the hints of a conspiracy against Zeus' plan make its restoration even more resounding. Neither the wiles of Hera nor the heroism of the Cretans or Telamonian Ajax can do more than briefly

retard the inevitable moment at which Patroclus realizes the imminent catastrophe. The many strands resolve themselves into two, as the conclusion of Patroclus' errand races against the slow defeat of Ajax. When at last Patroclus enters the field at *II* 257, the many-stranded narrative of the battle for the ships becomes the single drama of the *Patrocleia*.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

AIINEIADAI AS PATRONS OF *ILIAD* XX
AND THE HOMERIC *HYMN TO APHRODITE*

PETER M. SMITH

For G. L. Huxley

THROUGHOUT the history of modern scholarship on Homer it has been widely believed that the twentieth book of the *Iliad* and the *Hymn to Aphrodite* were composed for a court of barbarian princes in the Troad who believed themselves descended from Aineias. The belief that the poet of the Hymn wished to honor such patrons is meant to account for the Hymn's telling the story of Aphrodite's encounter with Anchises, and especially for her prediction (at 196 f) that Anchises' son will rule among Trojans and will give birth to a continuing family. This same belief is often used in explanation of Aineias' role in *Iliad* XX, where a complete genealogy of his family is given and where Poseidon makes a similar prediction of future rule by Aineias and his children. Indeed the acceptance of historical "Aineiadaï" as patrons of Greek epic poetry is of long and distinguished standing and is nearly universal among German scholars; regardless of their differing conclusions on the relation of the Hymn to the *Iliad*, and regardless, too, whether they are Analysts (like Wilamowitz and Heitsch) or Unitarians (like Jacoby, Schadewaldt, and Erbse), they have tended to accept that there were such persons and that their influence on the Greek epic — so far as the epic concerns Anchises and Aineias — was crucial.¹ Even recent

¹ Wilamowitz, for example, in *Die Ilias und Homer* (Berlin 1916) 83 f wrote: "Es ist gar nicht anders denkbar, als dass ein halbhellenisiertes Herrscherhaus von Aeneaden in der Troas, ich denke mir nicht bei Ilion, sondern etwa in Skepsis, . . . diese Personen [Aineias and Anchises], ihre Ahnen, in die Reihe der Troer eingeführt hat, deren Reich sie in gewissem Sinne fortführten . . . Der Dichter des *Y* und der des Aphroditehymnus dichten an ihrem Hofe zu ihren Ehren, schöne Belege für die Eroberung des Asiatentums durch die hellenische Kultur und Dichtung . . ." While Wilamowitz judged that the Aineias episode in XX had been added to an existing *Iliad* in order to please the patrons of the poet who added it, Jacoby believed that the *Iliad* as a whole had been composed, like the Hymn, in some relation to a court of historical Aineiadaï; see his "Homerisches," *Hermes* 68 (1933) 1-50, esp. 37 ff. Jacoby agreed with L. Malten that behind Poseidon's prophecy "ein konkretes Geschlecht von Aineiaden steht, das in den Jahrhunderten nach Ilions Sturz an

scholars who do *not* think that the influence of patrons is needed to explain the role of Aineias in the *Iliad* or the contents and structure of the Hymn have nonetheless accepted the existence of historical Aineiadaí without debate.²

Yet the evidence which has at various times been adduced in support of this belief falls, I think, far short of sustaining it. I shall offer here a review of this evidence, especially of the extra-Homeric evidence, which is often thought to establish independently of the poems that there were descendants of Aineias — real or alleged — holding power in the Troad in Homer's time or earlier. It will appear clearly enough, I think, that the evidence does not establish that at all. But the result of our review will, for all that, not be simply negative, for we shall be left with two positive conclusions: first, that disagreements in the second and first centuries B.C. over the actions and movements of Aineias after he left Troy probably do not result simply from differences in the earlier sources then used but may reflect a more immediate, and more interesting, conflict over the Roman claim to Aineias; and second, that the prophecies for Aineias' future made by Poseidon and Aphrodite should be understood as integral to the poems in which they appear, since they need not be forced into a relation with hypothetical contemporaries of the poets of the *Iliad* and of the *Hymn to Aphrodite*.

It will be useful to remind ourselves at the outset what is contained in these two prophecies and in what contexts they occur. In *Iliad* XX Achilles begins his irresistible onslaught against the Trojans and their allies. His goal is to confront Hektor and to kill him, but a number of

den Hängen des Idagebirges in Skepsis sein Herrschersitz gehabt hat." Malten stretched his point only a little when he wrote ("Aineias," *ARW* 29 [1931] 33) that Aineiadaí were "offenkundig und seit dem Altertum durch die neuere Forschung allgemein anerkannt." So also E. Schwartz, *Zur Entstehung der Ilias: Schriften der Strassburger wissenschaftlicher Gesellschaft* 34 (1918) 23; E. Heitsch, *Aphroditehymnos, Aeneas und Homer* (Göttingen 1965); W. Schadewaldt, *Von Homers Welt und Werk*³ (Stuttgart 1959) 95, 287; H. Erbse, "Über die sogenannte Aineis im 20. Buch der Ilias," *RM* 110 (1967) 22 ff, and others mentioned below (n.12).

² The most extensive recent example is L. Lenz, *Der homerische Aphroditehymnus und die Aristie des Aineias in der Ilias* (Bonn 1975). Lenz's excellent arguments for the integrity of the Aineias episode in XX and for its manifold lines of connection with the rest of the *Iliad* leave him with little need for a patronage explanation, yet he nonetheless expresses acceptance of historical Aineiadaí; and for Poseidon's prediction he aligns himself with the consensus: "da aber ohne persönliche Beziehung zu den Aineiaden ein Sänger kaum ein durchschlagendes Interesse an der Weitergabe des Auskunft Y 307 f. gehabt haben dürfte . . ." (266 f).

things happen which postpone that final encounter until Book XXII. The first of them is his duel with Aineias, whom Apollo, disguised as Hektor's brother Lykaon, persuades to stand and face him. Achilles taunts Aineias, suggesting that he vainly hopes to win greater power or rewards from Priam and the Trojans by this foolish risk. Aineias replies proudly that reproaches and quarrelsome words will not make him give way, and he tells at length the descent of his family from Zeus. Then they begin to fight; both spear-casts fail to do much damage, and they come to close quarters, Achilles drawing his sword and Aineias lifting a huge stone to throw.³ At this point Poseidon speaks up among the watching gods, urging them to rescue Aineias from what amounts to certain death. It is surprising at first that it is Poseidon who speaks, for he is a staunch supporter of the Achaian cause, but he explains his intervention by pointing out that Aineias is about to suffer in the place of others and is not to blame for the war. Aineias, moreover, "always gives pleasing gifts to the gods." But most of all he must be saved because it would anger Zeus if he were to die now in contravention of his fate:⁴

ἀλλ' ἄγεθ' ἡμεῖς πέρ μιν ὑπὲρ θανάτου ἀγάγωμεν,
μή πως καὶ Κρονίδης κεχολώσεται, αἶ κεν Ἀχιλλεὺς
τόνδε κατακτείνει· μόριμον δέ οἱ ἔστ' ἀλέασθαι,
ὄφρα μὴ ἄσπερμος γενεὴ καὶ ἄφαντος ὄληται
Δαρδάνου, ὃν Κρονίδης περὶ πάντων φίλατο παίδων,
οἳ ἔθεν ἐξεγένοντο γυναικῶν τε θνητῶν.
ἤδη γὰρ Πριάμου γενεὴν ἤχθηρε Κρονίων·
νῦν δὲ δὴ Αἰνείαιο βίη Τρώεσσιν ἀνάξει
καὶ παίδων παῖδες, τοί κεν μετόπισθε γένωνται.

XX 300-308

Hera consents to this intervention, and Poseidon proceeds at once to the rescue. This is the last we hear of Aineias in the poem; his role is to be a survivor, in contrast to his doomed cousin, and in that role he has helped to set the scene for Hektor's own final meeting with Achilles.⁵

In the *Hymn to Aphrodite* an almost identical prophecy is made, although in happier circumstances. Disguised as a young woman, Aphrodite appears to Anchises when he is alone at a herdsman's shelter on Mt. Ida. She seduces him, and afterward resumes her true appear-

³ Achilles' challenge: XX 178-198; Aineias' reply: 200-258; spear-casts: 259-283; they come to close quarters: 283-290.

⁴ Poseidon's role as the senior god present and as a natural defender of Moira is also well brought out by Erbse (above, n.1), 21.

⁵ This point is further developed below, page 46 ff.

ance as a goddess to tell him, among other things, of the future birth of Aineias. Before the seduction, when he suspected that his visitor might be a goddess, Anchises had asked her to grant him renown and long life among the Trojans and to make his children flourish in the future (103–106). Thus when Aphrodite now speaks to him of Aineias, she is in effect responding to a part of that earlier request:

σοὶ δ' ἔσται φίλος υἱὸς ὃς ἐν Τρώεσσιν ἀνάξει
καὶ παῖδες παῖδεσσι διαμπερές ἐκγεγάονται·

(196 f)

These two prophecies have led in modern times to the inference that they must have been inspired by the poets' desire to glorify princely families in their own time, families claiming descent from Aineias and happy to hear themselves foretold by the gods. Robert Wood made that inference for the *Iliad*'s prophecy in 1769, and August Matthiae did the same for the Hymn in 1800.⁶ It was only natural for them to read these forward references in Greek epic in the same way one read the many forecasts, direct and indirect, made by the characters of legend in later Classical literature — especially the many such forecasts made in the *Aeneid*. It is true that one does not find this sort of *post eventum* prophecy elsewhere in the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*;⁷ in fact the Homeric poems seem, in contrast to Vergil's epic, to be otherwise quite free of

⁶ R. Wood, *An Essay on the Original Genius of Homer* (London 1769; 2nd ed. 1775, rpt. New York 1971); A. Matthiae, *Animadversiones in Hymnos Homericos* (Leipzig 1800). The copy of Wood's essay I have used is the Dublin edition of 1776; on p. 170 he wrote, "That Aeneas and his descendants reigned over the Trojans, after the Greeks had destroyed the Capital of the country, is a fact for which we have Homer's authority; and the manner in which this is expressed in the *Iliad*, would incline us to suppose, that the poet lived to see the great-grandchildren of Aeneas." Like Mitford later (see below, n.8), Wood took the reference to "sons' sons" literally, so that the problem of Aineiadaí being displaced later by Greek settlement in the Troad did not arise for him. Later scholars lowered the date of Homer but took the prophecy to be indefinite in its reference, like that of Aphrodite in the Homeric Hymn, and so continued to take it as a *post eventum* prediction of Aineiadaí in the poet's own time. (Wood, incidentally, did not think that the Aineiadaí were direct patrons of Homer; he thought their simple existence was enough to prompt the poet to refer to them. Later scholars have varied in whether they imagine direct patronage or indirect inspiration.)

⁷ A point stressed by Jacoby (above, n.1), 44 f: "sonst die Zeit der Heroen abgeschlossen in der Vergangenheit liegt..." Jacoby himself thought the uniqueness of Poseidon's "Durchbrechung des homerischen Grundprinzips" implied a unique and personal motive of the poet: a desire to refer indirectly to his patrons. But that seems to me to beg the question, for until we know that Poseidon did in fact break the rule by referring forward to a historical family,

covert references to particular persons or states of affairs later than the end of the Heroic Age itself. But the prophecies made by Poseidon and Aphrodite are so *like* those made in the *Aeneid* that they could readily be taken as exceptions to that rule, the more so in that they concern what to modern students of antiquity is the most famous of all epic forecasts.

The inferences of Wood and Matthiae became quite general over the course of the nineteenth century, being made widely known from their appearance in Mitford's history of Greece, in Welcker's work on the Epic Cycle, and in repeated editions of Karl Otfried Müller's history of Greek literature and of Albert Schweigler's history of Rome.⁸ Modern

the imputation of a uniquely personal motive to the poet is not so much a reasonable inference as an additional and risky hypothesis.

In treating Poseidon's prophecy as a unique exception to the rule that Greek epic poets did not refer forward to their own time, Jacoby, rightly I think, did not discuss the question of the Achaian Wall. But the passage (*Iliad* VII 443–464) in which Poseidon and Zeus consider the destruction of the wall, together with the later passage (XII 9–34) in which that destruction is forecast, are often taken to be just such a forward reference, designed to account to the poet's audience for the absence of any trace of the wall in their time; Schadewaldt explicitly paired the gods' discussion of the wall with Poseidon's prophecy about Aineias in XX as evidence "dass er [Homer] in der Troas lebte und dichtete, wo zu seiner und seiner Hörer Zeit keine Spur einer solchen Mauer war" (*Iliasstudien*³ [Darmstadt 1966, a reprint of the 1st ed., 1938] 124 n.2). But the wall passage really must be treated on its own, for it does not look forward to the people or the society of the poet's own time but points to an antecedent restoration of the natural world to its normal, timeless state. No person, no action, no thing known to the poet's own time is predicted, even indirectly. The implication of future action is limited to the immediate context of the war: when the Achaians have gone, the wall will be washed away. The best analogue to this passage is Poseidon's similar complaint to Zeus at *Odyssey* XIII 125 ff that the Phaiakians dishonor him. Zeus consents to Poseidon's turning a Phaiakian ship to stone and to his covering their city with a great mountain; the ship is duly turned to stone, but whether the city is hidden beneath a mountain we never learn; at any rate, their city is not to be found in our world, any more than is the Achaian Wall. (See also M. L. West, "The Achaean Wall," *CR* [1969] 255 ff, who argues against Page's suggestion that passages referring to the wall are later Athenian interpolations.)

Prof. Mark Edwards calls my attention to the implicit forward references contained in the *Homeric Hymns*, esp. II and III; but these do not, I think, offer real support to a reading of Poseidon's prophecy as *post eventum*: both the hymnic form of the Hymns and their occasional interest in the origins of cult and ritual involve them in a potential directness of reference to the poets' own times which the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* never seek.

⁸ W. Mitford, *The History of Greece*, vol. I (London 1818) 252 f; F. Welcker, *Der epische Kyklus*, vol. ii (Bonn 1849) 223 ff. K. O. Müller first used the

scholarship had thus added an element to the biography of Homer which even the imaginative ancient tradition had never contained. There were a few who did not agree — Maurice Croiset, for example, together with Albert Gemoll and August Baumeister, the two most important editors of the Homeric Hymns.⁹ But the view that a prophecy of future rule by Aineias and his children *did* require us to imagine historical descendants of Aineias had become the norm. It continued to receive weighty support, as by Eduard Meyer in his *Geschichte von Troas* of

patronage-explanation for Poseidon's prophecy in *The History and Antiquities of the Dorian Race* (Oxford 1830) i 250 f: "It can, we think, be shewn that Homer's prophecy respecting the future dominion of the descendants of Aeneas over the remnant of the Trojan nation, refers solely to the town of Gergis, and perhaps to the neighbouring valleys." Notice that Müller assumes the fact of that dominion from the prophecy itself. His proposal of Gergis, which was soon to be displaced by Troy and Skepsis as candidates for the seat of historical Aineiadaí, must have depended on Herodotos' two references to a people called Gergithes (5.122, 7.43); this people lived, in the fifth century, in the hilly country southeast of the lower Hellespont, and most probably for that reason Herodotos calls them "the remainder of the Teukrians of old," τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας τῶν ἀρχαίων Τευκρῶν. By the end of the fifth century they had a city called Gergis, which may have been founded in the sixth century (see W. Leaf, *Strabo on the Troad* [Cambridge 1923] 102 ff, and, for a more persuasive location, J. M. Cook, *The Troad* [Oxford 1973] 347 ff). Neither Müller nor we know very much about this people.

Müller modified his Aineiadaí-hypothesis when applying it to the Hymn a few years later. In his *History of the Literature of Ancient Greece* (London 1840), which appeared first in English translation and later in a number of editions in German, he wrote: "It is an obvious conjecture that this hymn . . . was sung in honour of princes of the family of Aeneas, in some town of the range of Ida, where the same line continued to reign even until the Peloponnesian war" (76). His reference to the Peloponnesian War must rest on Xenophon's calling a satrap of the Troad named Zenis, together with his wife and unhappy successor Mania, "Dardanians" (*Hell.* III 1.10). But there is no reason to connect them, or to think they connected themselves, with Aineias.

The next attempt to find a particular home for Aineiadaí in the Troad was made by Albert Schwegler, *Römische Geschichte*, vol. I (Tübingen 1853) 294. Schwegler placed them in Skepsis, using a text of Strabo (XIII 607 f, Casaubon) to which Welcker had already pointed; this is considered below, p. 34 ff.

⁹ Croiset was in fact led to say (*Histoire de la littérature grecque*, V [Paris 1896] 560) "Il ne semble pas qu'il y ait aucun élément de conjecture sérieuse." But he did not argue the point, and skeptics remained the minority. Baumeister had offered a brief argument in his edition (*Hymni Homerici* [Leipzig 1860] 251): "de Aeneadis in Idae saltibus regiam dignitatem obtinentibus admodum vaga est fama; quos ne constat quidem Graeca lingua usos esse, nedum poesi graeca delectatos." He was right, and very understated, on both counts. Albert Gemoll was also skeptical (*Die homerischen Hymnen* [Leipzig 1886] 260).

1877.¹⁰ Moreover, this consensus no longer depended on the epic prophecies alone, since there had been gradually accumulated a group of references to later ancient writers whose testimony was held to support, or even to establish, the existence of historical Aineiadaí.

In the twentieth century this consensus has continued strong. To be sure, Allen, Sikes, and Halliday continued in the line of Baumeister and Gemoll in finding that, as editors of the *Hymn to Aphrodite*, they did not think the goddess's prophecy in itself required particular patrons of the poet who might have inspired it.¹¹ But the majority of Homerists have disagreed, including Wilamowitz, Jacoby, Schadewaldt, Reinhardt, Solmsen, and Lesky (who has given the Aineiadaí a home in his authoritative survey-article in Pauly-Wissowa).¹² Virtually the only

¹⁰ W. Leaf, in his own later study of the geography of the Troad (above, n.8), 272 ff, was skeptical of the *truth* of any claims made by "Aineiadaí" in Skepsis, but like Meyer he still accepted that there had been such persons. He quotes the fourth- (or third-) century inscription which confirms Demetrios of Skepsis in his mention of the office of βασιλεύς in Skepsis (on the importance of which see below, p. 37 ff) and comments that the Skamandrios mentioned in the inscription as one of the prytaneis of Skepsis was "no doubt claiming descent from the son of Hektor" — forgetting for the moment that Skepsis lies on the bank of the Skamander. Leaf thought the role of self-styled "Aineiadaí" real but post-Homeric; in his edition of *The Iliad* (London 1888) ii 287 he wrote "the curious allusion to his [Aineias'] descendants in [XX] 307 clearly gives the reason of the interpolation [of the entire Aineias episode in XX!] — a desire to bring into some sort of harmony with the *Iliad* a later local legend of the kingship of the family of Aineias in the Troad, and perhaps even to explain a Poseidon-cultus among them" (since it was Poseidon who made the prophecy of Aineias' rule).

¹¹ T. W. Allen, W. R. Halliday, and E. E. Sikes, *The Homeric Hymns* (Oxford 1936), continued the opinion of Allen and Sikes in their earlier edition (London 1904) 198 f that, although the Hymn "was supposed to have been composed in honour of a descendant of Aeneas . . . it bears no trace of having been written on a definite occasion, or for a particular person. The allusion to the revived Trojan kingdom 196 sq. is vague and merely follows the Homeric tradition" (i.e., the "tradition" of *Iliad* XX 307 f). One can see from this how strong the assumption of a "revived Trojan kingdom" had become; editors of the Hymn found no need for it in explaining Aphrodite's prophecy but accepted that in the *Iliad* it was needed to explain Poseidon's prophecy of the same thing. On the Hymn they were followed by H. Porter, "Repetition in the Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite," *AJP* 70 (1949) 271 n.40.

¹² For Wilamowitz, Jacoby, and Schadewaldt see above, n.1. K. Reinhardt, "Zum homerischen Aphroditehymnus," *Festschrift Bruno Snell* (Munich 1956) 1-14, reprinted in *Die Ilias und ihr Dichter* (Göttingen 1961); F. Solmsen, "Zur Theologie im grossen Aphrodite-Hymnus," *Hermes* 88 (1960) 1-13; A. Lesky, "Homeros" in *RE*, Suppl. XI (Stuttgart 1968; also published separately in 1967) col. 829 (= [1967] col. 143). Other adherents of the consensus have included J. Humbert, *Homère, Hymnes* (Paris 1936) 144; G. Scheibner, *Der*

scholars who have not accepted historical Aineiadaí are those who do not discuss the question at all or who have hypotheses of their own to advance which are incompatible with the consensus.¹³ Yet the current situation is in one respect different from what it was in the nineteenth or the earlier twentieth century. There have been several detailed studies made of *Iliad* XX and of the Hymn which have argued that their themes and their treatment of those themes can be discussed without reference to extrapoetic constraints on the poets who wrote them; yet the authors of these studies (the most recent and the fullest of which is that of Lenz in 1975) continue to accept the existence of Aineiadaí in the poets' time.¹⁴ The same is true of F. Càssola, the most recent editor of the Homeric Hymns (*Inni omerici* [Milan 1975] 244 ff). In other words, scholars who, like the majority of English-speaking students of Homer, do not find Aineiadaí a necessary assump-

Aufbau des 20. und 21. Buches der Ilias (Borna and Leipzig 1939) 124 ff; M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* (Munich 1941; 3rd ed. 1967) 523; W. Kullmann, in his review of Reinhardt's *Die Ilias und ihr Dichter*, *GGA* (1965) 31. Lenz (above, n.2), 185, speaks, not disapprovingly, of the "opinio communis, in den Versen Y 105 ff. / 203 ff. / 213 ff. / 302 ff. bekunde der Dichter der Ilias bzw. des Y huldigend seine Verbundenheit mit einem zeitgenössischen Fürstenhaus von Aineiaden." Indeed, things have gone so far that L. Malten, "Homer und die lykischen Fürsten," *Hermes* 79 (1944) 1-11 could, expanding on a remark of Wilamowitz, claim the influence on *Iliad* VI of Lykian patrons, too, because of the respect shown in that book for Glaukos and because of its interest in the story of Bellerophon; and his view met with sympathy even from Schadewaldt (above, n.1), 434, and Lesky (above, this note) col. 692 (= [1967] col. 6).

¹³ W. Schmid, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur* I i (Munich 1929) 240, suggested that the Hymn presents in the figure of Aphrodite an allegorical portrait of an immoral woman of the Ionian aristocracy in the poet's own day. He did not argue against the patronage hypothesis but simply sought to replace it; his reading of the poem was so unpersuasive that it must have seemed to strengthen the case for a more decent origin. Later E. Howald, "Aineias," *MH* 4 (1947) 69-73, argued that Poseidon's prophecy in *Iliad* XX should be seen primarily as an ad hoc invention of the poet of the *Iliad* intended to prepare the escape from Achilles of one who, as the son of a major Olympian, could not simply be killed off. Howald suggested that stories of Aineias' escape from Troy and of his later wanderings were all elaborations based on this rescue from Achilles invented in the course of the *Iliad*. He thus dismisses Aineiadaí as a needed explanation of Aineias' rescue or Poseidon's prophecy (69); but he does not come to grips with the testimonia which had been gathered in their support.

¹⁴ Kullmann (above, n.13); Lenz (above, n.2); H. Podbielski, *La structure de l'Hymne homérique à Aphrodite à la lumière de la tradition littéraire*, Polska Akademia Nauk, Komitet Nauk o Kulturze Antycznej; Archiwum Filologiczne XVII (Wrocław 1971).

tion nonetheless treat them as historical fact. They do so because they believe that the ancient testimonia outside the *Iliad* and the Hymn, testimonia which were gathered by earlier scholars as a secondary support for their interpretation of the epic prophecies, themselves establish historical Aineiadai in the Troad.

It seems, then, a reasonable step, even a necessary one, to take a close look at those testimonia in order to see whether they can by themselves carry such a burden of proof. (While we are doing this, if I may anticipate a little, we should bear in mind that no ancient source asserts independently of inference from the *Iliad* the existence of Aineiadai in the Archaic period as patrons of epic poetry; the question to be answered here is whether these later sources nonetheless form a network of circumstantial evidence pointing to such persons' having played such a role.) A number of them come to us from Dionysios of Halikarnassos, who has much to say about earlier traditions concerning Aineias in the first book of his *Roman Antiquities*. But it will be best, I think, to take up these testimonies in more or less the chronological order of their sources, for we want to treat each of them on its own merits, and we want to be alive to the possibilities of borrowing by some writers from their predecessors. The use Dionysios made of this evidence will come out in the course of our discussion and will in fact be of some interest in itself at a later point (below, p. 43 f).

I. ARKTINOS OF MILETOS,¹⁵ *Iliupersis* FR. 1 (ALLEN) = DION. HAL.
AR I 68.2 FF

Dionysios tells us that, among his many sources for the nature and history of the Penates, Arktinos was the earliest. He then proceeds to give an eclectic account (λέγουσι γοῦν ὧδε) of the history of the Palladia, which he regards as having been two images of young warriors — not one image of Athena — in order to make them the originals of the Roman Penates. They came to Dardanos, the story goes, along with his wife Chryse, the daughter of Pallas (hence their name), when he lived in Arkadia; she herself had them as gifts from Athena. He took them along when he led his people first to Samothrace and then to his own new city, Dardania, in the Troad. His descendants later transferred them to Troy, where they were carefully protected because of an oracle Dardanos had received promising that his people's

¹⁵ For convenience I use the traditional authors' names attached to parts of the Epic Cycle and also Proklos' division of the Cycle into its component poems. Uncertainties in subdivision and attribution should not affect our present argument.

city would remain uncaptured so long as these images were kept safe in the land. During the capture of Troy by the Achaians, when the lower city had already fallen, Aineias took the remaining Palladion (one had been stolen from the city in the famous night mission of Odysseus and Diomedes) and escaped with it, ultimately bringing it to Italy. At this point Dionysios adds that, according to Arktkinos himself, a *single* Palladion had been given to Dardanos by Zeus; the image stolen by Odysseus was only a copy which had been set on display in order to deceive potential thieves. (The bit about the copy Dionysios gives in a continuation of the infinitive construction which reports what Arktkinos said about a single Palladion being given to Dardanos. Thus whether he really meant to or not, he assigns the decoy-story to him as well; more on this in a moment.)

For us the point of interest in this story is the survival of a (or the) real Palladion in the hands of Aineias, for if Arktkinos told that story, he might have been interested, as Dionysios was long afterward to be interested, in claiming or implying a historical continuity for its cult down to his own time (at Troy, for instance, where the claim seems to have been made at least later; cf. Strabo XIII 1.41). Welcker thought that this was, in fact, the case and that Dionysios' story shows us a seventh-century Ionian poet knowing and respecting an alleged survival of the Palladion and an alleged survival of Aineias' descendants as its protectors.¹⁶ On this hypothesis Arktkinos would have been implicitly correcting the version used by Lesches, who told in the *Little Iliad* that Odysseus and Diomedes stole the (only and real) Palladion from Troy just before the Achaians left their wooden horse on the shore and pretended to sail away home.¹⁷

But it is not easy to see how much of this Dionysios really found in Arktkinos. Most of his story certainly did *not* come from the *Iliupersis*. His version of the origin of the Palladia is different from Arktkinos', who he says spoke of a single image given directly by Zeus to Dardanos. Dionysios' account of Dardanos' wanderings hardly came from any part of the Epic Cycle, for it has the character of those stitched-together narratives by which later writers tried to account for as many local cults and foundation legends as they could (as in Hellanikos' story of the wanderings of Aineias, on which more below). His version of Aineias' departure from Troy is definitely not that of Arktkinos, who according to Proklos told that Aineias left the city not during its capture but immediately after Laokoön's death and before the wooden horse

¹⁶ Welcker (above, n.8), 223 ff; similarly Wilamowitz (above, n.1), 382.

¹⁷ Proklos' *Chrestomathy* in Allen, *Homeri Opera* V (Oxford 1912) 107.

was brought within the walls.¹⁸ The idea of a second, fake Palladion, which Dionysios does attribute to Arktinos, seems suspiciously like the devices which later writers used in order to accommodate variant legends, or else to open the door to new variations of their own; it reminds us of the phantom Helen invented by Stesichoros. Bethe suggested that all Dionysios may have taken from Arktinos was the mention of Zeus' original gift of the Palladion to Dardanos;¹⁹ when Dionysios goes on to include the account of the fake Palladion as though it were part of what he found in Arktinos, he may in fact be telling us something he found in one of the later writers he was using, a writer who used this idea to accommodate the stolen Palladion of the Epic Cycle to some allegedly surviving Palladion of later times. A consideration which supports this possibility is that Arktinos' poem, unlike the later narrative of Hellanikos, did not have Aineias remain in Troy until its fall: he and his followers, dismayed by the serpents' killing of Laokoön and one of Laokoön's sons, abandoned the doomed city and retreated toward Mt. Ida. Could Aineias, in Arktinos' version, have taken with him, or been allowed to take, the fatal embodiment of the city's safety? Anyone who wanted Aineias to have preserved the Palladion is more likely to have kept him in Troy to the bitter end. It seems reasonable to suppose that, despite the form of his report, it was one of Dionysios' sources *other* than Arktinos, one of those who did keep Aineias in Troy for the final fight, who supplied him with the idea that the Palladion famously stolen in the *Little Iliad* was only a copy of the real one.

But what does it matter to the question of historical Aineiadaí whether it was Arktinos or someone else from whom Dionysios reported this correction of Lesches' story of the Palladion? It matters because if it was not Arktinos, then it is overwhelmingly probable that it was one of the many writers between the sixth and the first centuries B.C. who built up the story of Aineias' westward journey and who might have wished, in despite of the epic tradition about the Palladion, to equip him with the most potent imaginable embodiment of Trojan religious continuity. Such persons were interested in Trojan continuity in the west, not in Aineiadaí in the Troad. Most likely of all is that it was either Hellanikos or else one of those writers on whom Dionysios says

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ E. Bethe, *Homer. Dichtung und Sage*² vol. II (Leipzig and Berlin 1929) 254 f (= *Der troische Epenkreis* [Stuttgart 1966] 106 f). More recently G. L. Huxley, in *Greek Epic Poetry: From Eumelus to Panyassis* (London 1969) 157, also expresses doubt about assigning to Arktinos the story of Aineias' rescue of the Palladion.

he was drawing for the particular history of the Penates — Kallistratos of Samothrace, Satyros, καὶ ἄλλοι συχνοί. It seems to me hardly conceivable that a Greek poet of the seventh century would have tried to convince his audience that the real Palladion survived the Trojan War, and survived it in Trojan hands. The whole point of the Palladion was that as long as it could be kept in the city it guaranteed Troy's safety; and yet Troy fell. Was it Aineias who removed it, or was it Odysseus?

II. HELLANIKOS OF LESBOS, FR. 31 (JACOBY) = DION. HAL. *AR* I
45.4–48.1

Here Dionysios gives an account of the fall of Troy which he says comes from the *Troika* of Hellanikos. In this account, as was mentioned earlier, Aineias did not leave the city before its fall and in fact took a leading part in its final struggle. He is made the leader of a defense of Troy's inner citadel; he and his men are said to have kept the Achaian attackers busy enough to cover the escape of many women, children, and old people, together with their goods and their sacred images. Finally Neoptolemos broke into the citadel, and Aineias and his men retreated, overtaking on the road south toward Ida those whose escape they had made possible. These Trojan survivors hoped they might return to their city after the victors had left, but the Achaians planned to attack them even in their mountain retreat. A truce was arranged when Aineias agreed to lead the survivors out of the Troad. As he took ship, he dispatched his son Askanios to become king in Daskylitis (a large plain on the south shore of the sea of Marmara, more than a hundred miles northeast of Troy) on the invitation of its inhabitants. For his part, Aineias led his followers west to the site of the later town of Aineia on the eastern shore of the Thermaic gulf. Meanwhile Askanios returned to Troy and was joined there by Hektor's son Skamandrios,²⁰ newly released from captivity in Greece by Neoptolemos; together the two refounded the city of Troy.

Those who find in this account some support for a belief in historical Aineiadaí are of course interested in its last element, the refounding of Troy by the sons of Hektor and Aineias. But whatever the origin of that tradition, it cannot reflect the existence of Aineiadaí at Troy, because the site seems to have been deserted at the close of the Bronze Age and to have lain unoccupied in the centuries during which the Greek epic tradition developed. Moreover, the beginnings of the Aiolian colony at

²⁰ In the *Iliad* we are told (VI 402 f) that this was Hektor's name for Astyanax, but later writers often use it without special qualification.

Troy do not go back into the eighth century; its aristocratic families would not have claimed, during the first generations of their city's life, to have held continuous rule from the time of the Trojan War. The legend of a Trojan refounding of the city in the years after its fall to the Greeks may have been conjecture by some of the colonists about a pre-Greek resettlement.²¹ Even if there was such a resettlement, lasting, despite the apparent gap in the archaeological record, well down into the Iron Age, that would not help the hypothesis of Aineiadai as patrons of Greek poetry, for the rulers of a hypothetical barbarian population during that period would not have been the sort of persons whom that hypothesis needs — there being no reason to think they would have spoken Greek or would have been in the least interested in influencing the Greek epic tradition.

In any case, as readers will have noticed, the refounding mentioned by Dionysios is anyway incompatible with the epic tradition — at least with the *Iliad* and the Epic Cycle. The death of Astyanax / Skamandrios after the city's fall is clearly foreshadowed in the *Iliad* (for example at XXIV 735) and was narrated in the *Iliupersis*.²² If we tried to get around this problem by imagining that Aineiadai in New Ilion were simply more successful than (equally hypothetical) Hektoridai in influencing the epic, or if we tried to confine our notion of the effect of their influence to the episode of Aineias' encounter with Achilles in

²¹ It is not clear what knowledge the Greek settlers of New Ilion may have had of a native settlement on the site after the Trojan War. The city was rebuilt after the war (this is the archaeologists' Troy VII B), but that settlement lasted only to the end of the Bronze Age (see C. W. Blegen et al., *Troy*, iv [Princeton 1958] 147, and *Troy and the Trojans* [New York 1963] 172). The Aiolic settlement of New Ilion (Troy VIII) seems to begin late in the eighth century (J. M. Cook [above, n.8] 101 with nn.) or early in the seventh (Blegen et al., *Troy*, iv, 247 ff). The archaeological evidence seems, at any rate, not to allow a native settlement in the intervening period; but the tradition of a Trojan refounding known to Hellanikos may imply that Greeks later thought there had been one, as may a Townley scholion on *Iliad* XX 306 ff in which it is said that some persons believed the successors of Aineias prophesied by Poseidon were expelled by the Aiolic settlers: οἱ δὲ οὔτι Αἰολεῖς ἐξέβαλον τοὺς ἀπογόνους Αἰνεῖου. Blegen suggested they may have lived on the Ballı Dağ during the Dark Age.

It must be mentioned that a bold emendation of this scholion was suggested by E. Schwartz (above, n.1), and has been accepted by others since (including Càssola [above, n.16], 250) solely in the interest of historical Aineiadai at Troy. Schwartz proposed to read <οὐκ> ἐξέβαλον and to imagine that a family of the pre-Greek nobility was incorporated in the Aiolic settlement. But the text of the scholion makes very good sense as it stands; it represents someone's suggestion that Homer had known that Greeks displaced Aineias' successors in the Troad.

²² Proklos in Allen (above, n.18), 108; Bethe (above, n.20), 177, Fr. 13.

Iliad XX, we would be brought up short by remembering the very pointed terms of Poseidon's prophecy at XX 302 ff: Priam's family is doomed to destruction, while Aineias' family will survive.²³

If we return for a moment to the passage of Dionysios summarized above, we may see that there is every reason to take its mention of the refounding of Troy as an ordinary piece of syncretism pertaining to a legend of the sort on which large hypotheses should not be built. If Dionysios did get this whole account from Hellanikos, as he says he did (and as Jacoby agreed), then Hellanikos has here, as elsewhere, done his best to spin out a story which can combine a number of independent local traditions.²⁴ When he has Aineias first take refuge on Ida, he is probably making a gesture in the direction of Arktinos' account in the *Iliupersis* (although his Aineias leaves the city at a later time). The invitation to Askanios from the people of "the territory (now) called Daskylitis" is to be understood in light of Dionysios' remark (probably taken over from Hellanikos) that that is "where the Askanian Lake is." In other words, it was the name *Askanian* applied to the lake of Nikaia which led Hellanikos to send Aineias' son there for a stay just long enough to account for it.²⁵ The voyage of Aineias himself to Aineia was similarly told for the sake of explaining a local claim (for which we have evidence in the earliest coins of the city);²⁶ this was only the first of a

²³ Hellanikos is our earliest source for a joint city-foundation by the sons of Hektor and Aineias, but the idea recurs a number of times in later writers. It raises problems to be distinguished from — though they are related to — that of Aineiadaí as alleged patrons of the epic tradition, and I have treated it briefly in an Appendix, below.

²⁴ For this characteristic of Hellanikos' method see K. von Fritz, *Die griechische Geschichtsschreibung* I (Berlin 1967) 484 ff; L. Pearson, *Early Ionian Historians* (Oxford 1939) 187 ff.

²⁵ There are three large lakes south of the Sea of Marmara between Kyzikos and Nikaia which could have been associated with Daskyleion and its territory; the central one (modern Apolyont Gölü) is closest to Daskyleion, but the one which Strabo, at least, called Askanian is that farthest from Troy, the Lake of Nikaia. The name appears to have been at home in Phrygia; the *Iliad*, which never mentions Aineias' son, knows the name Askanios as that of a Phrygian leader who, with his partner Phorkys, came to Troy "from Askania far away" (II 862 ff) and also as that of one who had arrived from Askania "the morning before" (XIII 790 ff). Strabo unnecessarily maintained (XII 4.5) that the latter passage referred to a Phrygian, the former to a Mysian, Askanios; but that need not affect our present argument, since the geographer assigned both Phrygia and Mysia shares of the Askanian Lake.

²⁶ B. Head, *Historia Numorum*² (Oxford 1911) no. 214; C. M. Kraay, *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins* (London 1976) 134 and plate 26, no. 469. The coin shows a man and a woman hurrying along, the man carrying an adult on his shoulders and the woman carrying a child on hers (not a daughter, as Robert claimed).

number of local traditions which determined the itinerary of Hellanikos' Aineias on his way to Italy.²⁷ When, finally, Hellanikos brings Askanios back from rule in Phrygia and Skamandrios back from captivity in Greece in order to join in a re-establishment of Troy, we should see this as still another response to a local (or other antiquarian) tradition. We may grant that Hellanikos had heard of this tradition in the fifth century, and it may have been the accepted story among the Aiolic inhabitants of Ilion. But it could have had nothing to do with the *Iliad*, the Epic Cycle, or the Homeric Hymn. It probably owed its origin to the desire of its Greek settlers to think of themselves as successors of the Achaeans and as having taken over from successors of the Trojans. (As the colonists at Kyrene, who had an even greater need to find links to the Heroic Age, believed the site of their city had once been held by sons of Antenor [Pindar, *Py.* V 82 ff].)

III. AKOUSILAOS OF ARGOS, FR. 39 (JACOBY) = SCHOL. AB ON *Iliad* XX 307 = AKOUSILAOS FR. 31 (DIELS / KRANZ)

Commenting on Poseidon's prophecy of future rule by Aineias and his children, the scholion reports that Akousilaos, a mythographer and genealogist of the early fifth century, gave the following story of the war and its cause: Aphrodite, who had learned somehow that Anchises' line would live to replace Priam's, seduced Anchises — although he was "already past his prime" — in order to become the progenitor of his fortunate descendants. When her son by Anchises was grown, she guided Paris in his abduction of Helen so as to bring on a war which would cause the downfall of Priam's line. Her support for Troy during that war was a pretense meant to forestall Trojan despair, which might have led to Helen's return and so have spoiled her plans.

This exercise in dull ingenuity bears its motive on its face. It offers to simplify the complicated moral issues of the Trojan War (as had the author of the *Kypria* long before) and to reduce the origins of the conflict to the personal ambition of a single deity. Whoever invented this story (quite possibly it was Akousilaos himself; but, as Diels remarked, one cannot be certain the whole of it is his), there is no reason to assign to its author an awareness of ruling Aineiadaí in his own time or in any time; his story would not have done them or their divine patroness much honor. If we should choose to imagine Aineiadaí who *could* somehow have felt honored by such a story, they cannot have been the Aineiadaí in whose interest the predictions of *Iliad* XX and the

²⁷ See, for example, Hellanikos 4F84 Jacoby, from Dion. Hal. *AR* I 72.

Hymn to Aphrodite were allegedly made; for the tale told in the scholion contradicts the whole story of the Hymn, and it treats as secret information something which, in the *Iliad*, Poseidon presents as an obvious necessity — so obvious, indeed, that Zeus will be angry if the other gods forget it. An additional reason for thinking that Akousilaos was not likely to have been interested in honoring historical Aineiadaí is that he seems in general not to have been interested in historical descendants of the gods and heroes he wrote about. As von Fritz has observed, his account of the Trojan War and the Nostoi was contained in the last book of a not very extensive work.²⁸

IV. SOPHOKLES, FR. 373 (RADT) = 373 (PEARSON) = 344 (NAUCK²),
FROM DION. HAL. *AR* I 48.2

Dionysios contrasts with the account of Aineiás' departure from Troy which he found in Hellanikos (above, II), and which he himself thought most trustworthy, several other versions, the one presented by Sophokles being the first. In his play *Laokoön*, we are told, Sophokles had a messenger report that Aineiás and his followers were leaving for Mt. Ida after the serpents' attack on Laokoön's son because Anchises ordered him then to abandon the city. Anchises' order is said to have been based on earlier instruction from Aphrodite and also on the observation of what had just happened to Laokoön's family. We have no way of knowing what that earlier instruction was (the tradition elsewhere being simply that she warned him against telling anyone of their love affair) or how Anchises was able to put it together with the ominous attack of the serpents. One is reminded, though, of other occasions when the characters of tragedy are led by some fresh event to understand the particular application of an older prophecy; as when, for example, the ghost of Dareios in the *Persians* infers the coming defeat at Plataiai from a combination of old oracles with news he has just received of the defeat at Salamis.²⁹ In any case it looks as though this fifth-century motif was added to a basically conservative version of the story of Aineiás' departure, since Sophokles agreed with Arktinos, rather than with Hellanikos, in having Aineiás leave *before* the city's fall.

There is nothing here which could offer support to a brief for

²⁸ von Fritz (above, n.24), 81 f.

²⁹ I mention the case of Dareios as being especially analogous, but the motif is clearly a favorite of Sophokles himself and occurs in five of his surviving plays (*Ajax*, *Trachiniae*, *Oedipus Tyrannus*, *Philoctetes*, *Oedipus Coloneus*). What I take to be a fifth-century motif is, however, taken by Lenz (above, n.2), 146 f, as a doubling of explanation which he thinks reflects dependence on the *Iliupersis*.

historical Aineiadaí. Sophokles may well have followed the version of Aineias' story which had him and Askanios go west, a version which probably goes back to Stesichoros.³⁰ But if he did not, that does not mean that he kept either of them at home to found a royal line known in historical times; he would simply have been following Arktinos in sending Aineias off "toward Ida" as a refuge, without specifying any more closely where he went or what happened to him later on.

V. MENEKRATES OF XANTHOS, FR. 3 (JACOBY), FROM DION. HAL. *AR* I
48.3

Dionysios follows his quotation of Sophokles, which we have just been considering, with his report of one Menekrates of Xanthos, a Lykian who at some point — possibly in the fourth century — wrote on the history and antiquities of his country. Menekrates claimed that Aineias had betrayed Troy to the Achaians because of an enmity he felt toward Paris, who had treated him rudely and managed to exclude him from certain honors. In return for this betrayal, the Achaians treated Aineias and his family well, and it went so far that Aineias became "one of them" (*εἰς Ἀχαιῶν*, which Müller [*FHG* ii 343] reasonably translated as *civis Graecorum*).

It is hard to see what help Menekrates can bring to the cause of historical Aineiadaí. It would be possible, I suppose, to imagine that his version of Troy's fall was meant to tarnish the reputation of Aineias in order to undercut the family pride of persons claiming descent from him. It would be possible, but there would be no reason to try to imagine that unless we knew already that such persons existed — and that is just what we do not know. Menekrates' story is far more likely to be an attack on the Achaians than on Aineias. The Greek tradition, in which Troy was weakened and then captured by the successive contributions of Achilles, Philoktetes, Neoptolemos, Odysseus, and others would be strikingly undermined by a story that the city was not taken either by force or cunning but was betrayed from within. The city which had been heroically defended by Menekrates' countrymen Glaukos and Sarpedon did not after all fall to a stronger enemy; it was

³⁰ The Messenger speaks of the flight from Troy as an *ἀποικία*. A famous Roman relief now in the Capitoline Museum (the "Tabula Iliaca") claims to be following the *Iliupersis* of Stesichoros in showing Aineias and his family setting sail for the west. Whether that claim should be accepted has been the subject of much debate; see, for example, G. K. Galinsky, *Aeneas, Sicily, and Rome* (Princeton 1969) 106 ff, with notes. D. L. Page cautiously accepted the substance of the claim: *Poetae Melici Graeci* (Oxford 1962) 110 f, with some references to earlier discussion.

stabbed in the back by a jealous Dardanian. Aineias (like Antenor, about whom similar things were sometimes said) was an obvious villain for anyone looking for a story of betrayal; he was a relative with a possible grievance against Priam and his family (cf. *Iliad* XIII 460 f, XX 178 ff), and he was known to have survived the war and to have escaped the fate of the city's other defenders.

VI. DEMETRIOS OF SKEPSIS, REPORTED BY STRABO XIII 1.52 f = III 607 f (CASAUBON)

The pieces of evidence we have seen so far do nothing to support even the existence of historical Aineiadaï, to say nothing of the idea that such persons influenced epic poetry. But we come now to the major non-epic text which has been held — often by itself — to establish Aineiadaï in the Troad. In the part of his geography which concerns the Troad, Strabo relied extensively on Demetrios of Skepsis, a local historian of the second century who had written an extensive work on the Trojan Catalogue in the second book of the *Iliad*; what Strabo reports from Demetrios has been taken to imply that Demetrios knew of a family of Aineiadaï in his own city, a family which could have been in power in Homer's time. A discussion of this passage requires close attention to its sequence of ideas, so I must ask the reader's forbearance for translating here the relevant paragraphs:³¹

(52) "Old Skepsis lies inland of Kebren and toward the highest part of Ida, near Polichna. It was formerly called Skepsis, possibly for some other reason, possibly because the place is visible from all around — if one is to explain the names which were in use at that time among barbarians by using Greek words. Later the inhabitants were moved sixty stades down the valley to the site of the present Skepsis by Skamandrios the son of Hektor and Askanios the son of Aineias, and these two families are said to have reigned in Skepsis for a long time. After that the people changed their government to an oligarchy; then some Milesians joined them, and they lived under a democracy. But members of the family were still called "kings" and enjoyed certain honors. Then Antigonos [Monophthalmos] incorporated the people of Skepsis in Alexandreia [Troas]; Lysimachos released them, and they returned to their homeland.

(53) "Demetrios believes that Skepsis was a royal residence of Aineias, lying as it does midway between the district subject to him and

³¹ Strabo XIII I, 52-53 (= III 607 f Casaubon).

Lyrnessos, to which he is said to have fled when pursued by Achilles. Achilles, at any rate, says,

ἦ οὐ μέμνη, ὅτε πέρ σε βοῶν ἄπο μοῦνον ἔοντα
σεῦδα κατ' Ἰδαίων ὀρέων ταχέεσσι πόδεσσι,
κεῖθεν δ' ἔς Λυρνησσὸν ὑπέκφυγες; αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ τὴν
πέρσα, μεθορμηθεῖς.

[XX 188-189, 191-192]

But the commonly told stories about Aineias do not agree with this account about the founders of Skepsis, for they say that he survived the war because of his hostility to Priam:

ἀεὶ γὰρ Πριάμῳ ἐπεμήνιε δίῳ,
οὔνεκ' ἄρ' ἐσθλὸν ἔοντα μετ' ἀνδράσιν οὐ τι τίεσκε.

[XIII 460 f]

And they say Aineias' fellow rulers, the sons of Antenor, and Antenor himself, survived because they had once been hosts to Menelaos. At any rate, Sophokles says that during the capture of Troy a leopard's skin was hung before Antenor's door as a sign that his household should be left free of attack. So (it is said) Antenor and his sons escaped safe to Thrace, together with the surviving Henetoi, and from there reached through to the country on the Adriatic now called Henētikē. They say that Aineias gathered a group of followers and set sail with his father, Anchises, and his son Askanios, and then some say he settled near the Makedonian Olympos, others that he founded Kapyai near Mantinea, giving the town its name from Kapys; others say he landed at Egesta in Sicily with a Trojan named Elymos and seized Eryx and Lilybaion and that he named rivers near Egesta "Skamander" and "Simois." From there he reached Latium, where he stayed, in accordance with an oracle which bid him stay wherever he might eat his table; this came to pass in Latium near Lavinium, when a large loaf of bread was put down for want of a table and then eaten together with the meats placed on it.

"Homer, however, appears to agree with neither version [*sic*; Strabo may mean "neither with those who take Aineias to Greece nor with those who take him west to Sicily and Italy"], nor with what is said about the founders of Skepsis. For he clearly points to Aineias' remaining in Troy, succeeding to its rule, and handing on the succession to his sons' sons — the family of Priam having been blotted out:

ἦδη γὰρ Πριάμου γενεὴν ἤχθηρε Κρονίων·
νῦν δὲ δὴ Αἰνείας βίη Τρώεσσιν ἀνάξει
καὶ παίδων παῖδες, τοί κεν μετόπισθε γένωνται.

[XX 307-309]

Homer's testimony will thus not allow a succession by Skamandrios. It is even more in disagreement with those others who speak of his [sc. Aineias'] journeying as far as Italy and who say that he ended his life there. But some persons [sc. believe the correct reading of this passage to be different and] write:

*Αἰνείας γένος πάντεσσιν ἀνάξει,
καὶ παῖδες παίδων,*

meaning the Romans."

This passage contains all that Strabo has to say about the foundation and history of Skepsis before he turns to a catalogue of its most noteworthy citizens (including his famous story of the fate of Aristotle's library).

Strabo's discussion falls naturally into three sections: in the first, which extends through §52 and into §53 as far as the end of the first quotation from Homer, he draws on Demetrios for a thumbnail sketch of the city's history; in the second, which extends through the bulk of §53 and ends with the reference to Aineias and his men eating their "tables," he turns aside from Demetrios to mention several of "the common stories" about Aineias, according to which he journeyed westward after Troy's fall and which are therefore inconsistent with Demetrios' idea that his descendants held power in Skepsis; in the third, which concludes §53, Strabo offers his own belief (which need not have begun with him) that the text of Homer cannot be squared *either* with Demetrios' views *or* with "the common stories" about Aineias' westward journey. All three sections are important to our analysis.

Let us first try to see what Demetrios claimed for the early history of his native city and what evidence he seems to have had for claiming it. First, he gave as the foundation-legend current in his own time (the mid-second century) the story that Hektor's son Skamandrios and Aineias' son Askanios transferred the population of Old Skepsis to the site of Skepsis itself,³² which lies in the upper valley of the Skamander

³² The foundation-story may of course have been older. Càssola (above, n.16), 244 f, argues that it must go back to the sixth century, using the testimony of a scholion on Euripides *Andromache* 10. In the scholion we are told that Dionysios of Chalkis (fourth century?) wrote that the Athenian Akamas founded a number of cities in the Troad after the Trojan War, including Skepsis, but generously allowed Skamandrios and Askanios to be proclaimed as founders. Dionysios' story is a piece of Athenian propaganda, but it does seem to imply the pre-existence of stories in which the two Trojans were the only founders. Càssola therefore thinks Dionysios' version goes back to the sixth century, the time of Athens' first imperialism in the Troad, and he believes that the earlier "in-

about twenty-five miles southeast of Troy.³³ "And these two families are said to have ruled in Skepsis for a long time." Afterward there was an oligarchy (among Aiolic settlers in the sixth century?), and still later a democracy was instituted when Milesians joined the settlement (after the fall of Miletos in 494?).³⁴ Nonetheless, "members of the family" continued to hold the office of "king," to which certain public honors were attached. Late in the fourth century the people of Skepsis were included in the new city of Antigoneia on the coast; but they were soon released from that synoecism by Lysimachos, who gave the new foundation its more famous name, *Alexandreia Troas*, and they returned to Skepsis. Strabo appends to this historical sketch a notice of Demetrios' further belief that the site of Skepsis had been a residence of Aineias even before its settlement as a city by his own and Hektor's sons. He believed this because the site lay midway between "the territory subject to Aineias" and Lyrnessos farther to the southeast, whither Aineias had been pursued "down over the mountains of Ida" by Achilles, as the latter recalls at *Iliad* XX 188 ff.

It will be noted at once that this passage says nothing of Aineiadaí as patrons of Homer or other epic poets. Nor is that surprising, for the early descendants of Askanios and Skamandrios whom Demetrios might have thought Homer's contemporaries could not significantly have influenced an epic tradition in which one of their ancestors was barely mentioned and the other was killed as a child. More interesting is that even for the bare existence of these Aineiadaí Demetrios gives the appearance of having had only inference to go on: if the city was

digenous" stories are evidence for historical Aineiadaí. But Dionysios' testimony really shows only that such claims were sometimes made in the Classical period, as was the story of the founding of New Ilion by Skamandrios and Askanios which Hellanikos had heard. If inhabitants of the Troad told such stories, they must have been Greeks who did so, and they must have been guessing about pre-history, not recording the claims of contemporary native princes. For more on this and other claims to joint founding by Askanios and Skamandrios, see the Appendix, below.

³³ The whereabouts of Old Skepsis remains uncertain; see Leaf (above, n.8), 210 ff, 268 ff, and Cook (also n.8, above), 300 ff. Cook's suggestion of the site on Küçük İkizce is attractive and allows us to avoid emending Strabo's statement that Old Skepsis lay some sixty stades from Skepsis itself.

³⁴ The fifth-century coins of Skepsis show the city changing from Aiolic to Ionic dialect (Leaf [above, n.8], 273), and Leaf reasonably suggested that the Milesians who Strabo says arrived to join the settlement came there after the fall of their own city. When the Aiolic inhabitants first came there is unknown; I suggest some time in the sixth century as the earliest reasonable date on historical grounds and would not, to serve the interest of the present argument, insist that the settlement was any later than that "earliest reasonable" date.

founded by the sons of Hektor and Aineias, it was natural enough to think that their families supplied it with kings until royal government gave way to oligarchy. The "long time" in which they reigned must be a product of the same sort of rationalizing historical reconstruction as the "certain length of time not very long" for which Hellenikos has Askanios reign in Daskylitis.³⁵ When we are told that the office of βασιλεύς survived at Skepsis (as often elsewhere) even under the democracy, we are possibly hearing Demetrios' only evidence for believing in the continuity of a royal family from the very beginning of the city. This belief of his looks like inference based on combining the foundation-legend with the vestigial survival of βασιλεῖς into the Hellenistic period.

We should be especially reluctant to build on Demetrios' historical reconstruction because we can see in other ways on what shaky ground it was based. He imagined the movement from Old Skepsis to Skepsis itself as following directly after the Trojan War; yet what little the archaeologists can tell us gives no reason for thinking the site of Skepsis was occupied before the Archaic period. If the migration took place during the Archaic age, then a tradition that it had taken place just after the Trojan War must not only have had little basis in fact but also have been rather late in forming — too late to influence the *Iliad*. Moreover, the survival of the office of "king," which has been confirmed by a Hellenistic inscription, seems to have been that of a single office, not of two,³⁶ and the wording of Strabo's report reflects this embarrassing truth: when he speaks of the families of the founders reigning as kings in the early city, he says δύο γένη ταῦτα, "these two families"; but when he refers to the persons who later held office as "kings," he says οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους, "members of the family." Strabo himself makes nothing of this discrepancy; he had other reasons, as we will see, for disagreeing with Demetrios' story of the founding of Skepsis. Walter Leaf did his best to bridge the gap by translating the second of the two phrases just quoted as "the heirs of the blood royal."³⁷ But the difficulty is not to be dealt with so simply, and we would be safest in concluding that the local traditions Demetrios had to work with were scanty and that his own conclusions about the early history of Skepsis were not overly careful. If I may be permitted my own guess as to the origin of the foundation-legend, I would suggest that it copied the similar claim made at New Ilion and elsewhere and was based on the

³⁵ Strabo: καὶ δύο γένη ταῦτα βασιλεῦσαι πολλὸν χρόνον ἐν τῇ Σκήψει λέγεται. Dion. Hal.: καὶ ᾤκησεν Ἀσκάnios αὐτόθι χρόνον τινὰ οὐ πολὺν.

³⁶ The inscription (mentioned above, n. 10) is quoted by Leaf (above, n. 8), 273. It was first published by Schliemann in *Troja* (New York 1884) 234 f.

³⁷ Leaf (above, n. 8), 269.

idea that the barbarian population of Old Skepsis had been descendants of the Trojans and the Dardanians; after all, Old Skepsis may have been continuously occupied (wherever it was) through the Dark Age, and that could not be said of Ilion. The kingship in the classical and Hellenistic periods may, for all we know, have been restricted to the members of a *yévos* descended from the pre-Greek nobility of Old Skepsis. But any notion that the founders of the clan might be identified among the heroes of Greek epic will not have preceded the arrival of Greek settlers in the sixth century. It may, for all we know, have been a notion favored only by antiquarians like Demetrios.³⁸ At any rate, it was probably never official, or else someone would have looked for, and would have found, the grave of Anchises, or Aineias, or Skamandrios.

The lack of evidence available to Demetrios is made especially clear by his belief that Skepsis had been the site of Aineias' *βασιλειον* even before the migration from Old Skepsis. In support of this idea he could claim only, like many in the nineteenth century who argued over the site of Troy, that it was probable on geographical grounds. His geographical argument was extraordinarily weak, for even if we accept, for the sake of the argument, that "the district subject to Aineias" should be located in the middle valley of the Skamander and that Lyrnessos should be placed somewhere in the plain of Thebe (later Adramyttion), we would hardly be forced by Achilles' boast at *Iliad* XX 188 ff to place Aineias' capital midway between these two places — or to place it anywhere at all. It looks rather as though there was no tradition older than Demetrios himself connecting Aineias with either Old Skepsis or Skepsis itself. If he had been associated with Old Skepsis, Demetrios would have felt no need to place him in Skepsis instead, and if tradition had associated him with Skepsis already, Demetrios would not have had to defend his claim with the very weak argument on which Strabo tells us he relied. His very choice of the word *βασιλειον* shows that he had no evidence for any city before the (alleged) foundation by Skamandrios and Askanios. He may have been trying to counter, or simply to pre-empt, the claim of any other city to have been Aineias' ancestral home. But he did not have much to go on, and as Leaf said, "a native of Skepsis, anxious to connect his town with Aineias, is apparently unable to bring forward any evidence at all of local connection."³⁹

Our skepticism on the subject of Aineiadaí in Skepsis who might have been responsible for some foreshadowing references in the Greek epic

³⁸ The known coins of Skepsis make no allusion to Aineias or his family.

³⁹ Leaf (above, n.8), 276; like other Analysts, Leaf himself took this to mean that the Aineias-legend as a whole was an invention of post-Homeric epic, an invention interpolated into an earlier *Iliad*.

has to be increased by the weakness of Demetrios' evidence. But to be fair we ought for a moment to imagine how the Aineiadaï-hypothesis might look if we granted its upholders a free rein with Demetrios' testimony and allowed them to see in it evidence for a ruling family of self-styled Aineiadaï in Skepsis in the eighth and seventh centuries. The family must have been barbarian, or at least of barbarian origin, but they ruled (we must assume) an already partly Hellenized populace and must themselves have been Hellenized enough to wish that their ancestors be included among Troy's defenders. These local dynasts were powerful enough (as we must assume) to cause a prediction of their own rule to be introduced into the Greek epic tradition, even though that tradition elsewhere avoids such things. On the other hand, we note with surprise that they were not influential enough to have any effect on that same tradition's insistence that Astyanax / Skamandrios, the *other* royal ancestor of Skepsian nobility, was killed as a child. They were apparently also unable to cause any reference to their own city to be added to the story of Aineias' escape from Troy.⁴⁰

If the patronage of this same family lies behind the *Hymn to Aphrodite*, we must imagine the members as pleased by its story of the founding of their line, although it is a story in which Aphrodite repeatedly and bitterly laments her unwilling part in the conception of Aineias and, instead of stressing the future glory and heroism of Anchises' son, draws his attention rather to the extraordinary and unheroic fate of his cousin Tithonos. Nor would this be the only oddness in their behavior. For although they were, we are assuming, interested in supporting and making known their claims to a heroic and divine ancestry, they neglected to found any shrine of Aineias to which Demetrios could later refer in support of his hypothesis that Skepsis had been Aineias' pre-war home. Neither did they exert themselves in the interest of their ancestor Aphrodite, for Skepsis' goddess was Athena, whom the poet of the Hymn thinks of as the most prominent of those who are "not pleased by the works of golden Aphrodite" (v. 9), she who — as Aineias himself remembered (*Iliad* XX 89 ff) — had led and protected Achilles when he drove Aineias before him from Ida.⁴¹ And

⁴⁰ What we know of the *Iliupersis* points to its having given Aineias' destination when he left Troy only in a general way, "toward Ida." That only a general indication was given opened the door to later multiplication of stories about Aineias' final destination.

⁴¹ For Athena as the city-goddess of Skepsis, see the inscription reported by Munro in *JHS* 19 (1899) 330 ff; the stone had been found on the summit of the small akropolis and was to be set up "in the sanctuary of Athena." Xenophon tells us (*Hellenica* 3.1.21) that Derkylidas solemnized his capture of the city in 399 by sacrificing at the temple of Athena on the akropolis.

these same royal descendants of Aineias could not even find a tomb of Anchises, though it would surely have been within their power to do so.

It is time to dismiss these unsatisfactory phantoms and to turn, with Strabo, to "the commonly told stories about Aineias." Strabo refers in a compressed and allusive way to several variants of the story that Aineias went west and took Askanios with him. Not everyone who took Aineias and his son west took them as far as Italy; some must have been content with Aineia on the Thermaic gulf, others with Arkadia.⁴² But the tradition of a western voyage was early, probably going back at least to Stesichoros, and a version of it was developed by Hellanikos in the fifth century (as we saw above, II). This was in fact the oldest and most general Greek tradition about what happened to Aineias after Troy fell. As far as we know, until the Hellenistic period it had no competition from a story that Aineias stayed home.⁴³ Of course one might imagine that, just as Hellanikos was willing to let Askanios stay home at Troy when Aineias sailed west, so Demetrios may have been willing to let Aineias sail west if Askanios could be kept at home (in Skepsis). But Strabo, at least, found Demetrios' version in disagreement with the common tradition that Aineias went west, and he clearly wished to mark it as an isolated account for which he knew of no support outside Demetrios himself.

Strabo's own view was that the text of Homer stands in the way both of a western voyage by Aineias and of any city-foundations by Skaman-

⁴² C. Robert, *Die griechische Heldensage* II 3.2⁴ (Berlin 1923, 1926) 1519 f.

⁴³ I should note that both Robert and Jacoby consistently took for granted in their treatment of these traditions that the *original* story was that Aineias and his descendants survived at home and that Aineias' westward journey was a later creation which had slowly to gain ground against it. This assumption was entirely based on their faith that the epic prophecies were, in effect, historical references, and that faith blinded them, I think, to the weight of the early evidence for Trojan emigration, especially that of Aineias: Stesichoros, Hellanikos, Thucydides (6.2.3 on the Trojan origin of the Sicilian Elymnoi), and others. The earliest claim we have that Aineias stayed at home anywhere in Asia Minor is Festus' report (472F5 Jacoby) that Agathokles of Kyzikos (mid-third century?), who himself brought Aineias to Rome, reported that "complures auctores" recorded him as buried "in urbe Berecynthia proxime flumen Nolon" (neither name attested elsewhere, but probably in Phrygia; see Jacoby's commentary). What lies behind this tenuous reference would be hard to say; the writer(s) to whom Agathokles referred may have built, as Hellanikos had done, on the Phrygian connections of Askanios' name. But Agathokles himself, a learned writer and a native of the area, not only sent Aineias and his family West but did not, apparently, mention any contrary tradition which kept him at home in the Troad, where Aineiadaí, as alleged patrons of Homer, have always been placed in modern times.

drios and Askanios. He quotes the three crucial verses in Poseidon's prophecy from *Iliad* XX:

For now has the son of Kronos come to hate the family of Priam.
As it is, it will be strong Aineias who rules among Trojans,
and his children's children, who shall be born hereafter.

Strabo does not commit himself to the historical fulfilment of this prediction, but the words of his revered poet are enough to rule out for him the possibility that Aineias' descendants ever ruled anywhere but in Troy itself or that they ever shared power with the offspring of the family of Priam. As he says, Homer "clearly indicates Aineias' remaining in Troy, succeeding to its rule, and handing it on to his children's children — the family of the Priamidai having been blotted out." He is sometimes taken to have meant "Homer clearly indicates that Aineias remained at Troy," et cetera, but he does not say that.⁴⁴ His phrasing simply implies that if we wish to extrapolate history from the epic, we ought to stick closely to what the epic says. And of course he is quite right that the *Iliad's* prediction is contradicted by the foundation-legend of Skepsis. From Strabo's point of view (that is, agreeing with Homer) that meant that there can have been no Aineiadaí in Skepsis; from ours, on the other hand, it means that if there ever were such persons, they could not have inspired the epic prediction. But since they have been called into existence in modern times precisely in order to inspire that prediction, they thus lose their claim to have existed at all.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ The translation is that of Leaf (above, n.8) 276; he was followed by H. L. Jones in the Loeb Strabo, vol. VI (Cambridge, Mass. 1929) 109. But ἐμφαίνει γὰρ μεμνηκότα τὸν Αἰνεΐαν ἐν τῇ Τροίᾳ καὶ διαδεδεγμένον τὴν ἀρχήν does not describe Homer as narrating a fact; rather it credits him with the clear statement of a prophecy. The perfect participles reproduce in indirect form the effect of a *praesens propheticum*.

⁴⁵ Strabo's observation that the foundation legend of Skepsis is inconsistent with Poseidon's prophecy in the *Iliad* has, surprisingly, been overlooked by many scholars who rely on him for proof of the historical Aineiadaí who they believe must lie behind the prophecy. More interesting, however, as a sign of the persistence of the Aineiadaí-hypothesis is that some scholars who have *shared* Strabo's observation have still not been led by it to doubt their basic assumption that there were powerful Aineiadaí in the Troad who influenced the epic tradition. In his recent edition of the Hymns, Càssola (above, n.16), 246 f, follows Strabo in noting the inconsistency of the Skepsian legend with the epic tradition known to us, but as a result he now concludes that the (alleged) Aineiadaí who were patrons of *Iliad* XX and the Hymn must have ruled in some *other* city of the Troad, not in Skepsis. In drawing that conclusion he suggests that the list of a dozen or so alleged foundations by Askanios and

Strabo has something more to say on this subject in the conclusion of §53 which has more interest for us than might at first appear. As much as Poseidon's prophecy is at odds with Demetrios' account of the founding of Skepsis, "it disagrees much more with those others who say that Aineias' wanderings took him even to Italy and who would have it that he ended his life there." Strabo's contemporary, the pro-Roman Dionysios, was very ready to accept the old and widespread tradition of Aineias' western journey, but Strabo is clearly anxious to combat that tradition, so much so that he goes out of his way here to point out that it is contradicted by his ultimate authority, Homer.⁴⁶ Strabo's hostility to what in his time had become a Roman co-option of Greek legend led him to insist on a narrow, and somewhat arbitrary, construction of Poseidon's prophecy: *Τρώεσσιν ἀνάξει* is to mean rule at Troy and nowhere else. His insistence looks like a reaction to the Roman use of Aineias; there is evidence that he was not alone in his reaction. That evidence is included in the discussion by Dionysios himself, and we should treat it as a testimonium in its own right:

VII. UNNAMED SOURCES REFERRED TO BY DION. HAL. *AR* I 53.4-5

After drawing on Hellanikos for the story of Aineias' flight from Troy which he himself accepts, Dionysios mentioned, as we saw, several other versions, including references to Sophokles and to Menekrates of Xanthos. In the same way he appends to his much longer narrative⁴⁷ of

Skamandrios given by the fourth-century historian Dionysios of Chalkis (on this see below, p. 54) may be in error: one or other of those cities may have thought itself founded only by Askanios. Thus the alleged post-Homeric evidence for historical Aineiadaí is, in effect, discarded, and we are back where we began, with the prophecies of Poseidon and Aphrodite the basis on which the case for Aineiadaí must rest.

⁴⁶ B. Forte has discussed at length the attitudes of Greeks to their Roman conquerors: *Rome and the Romans as the Greeks Saw Them* (Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome, XXIV; Rome 1972). She did not have much to say, however, about the Aineias-legend and so missed the implication of Strabo's criticism. Strabo saw, as she says, many good effects from the spread of Roman rule (pp. 184 ff); but he tended to see those good effects (as she also says) evidenced among the barbarian peoples subjugated by Rome, not among Greeks. And he certainly looked down on Roman writers (p. 166) as unoriginal borrowers and adapters of Greek sources. It is this same underlying cultural resentment which comes out in his scholarly rejection of the Roman claim to Aineias. See also Forte's summary (194 ff) of the attitude of Dionysios, who wished to show Rome in a legitimate and moral light to his Greek audience and who claimed for his adopted city an origin which had been Greek even before it was Trojan.

⁴⁷ *AR* I 49.4-53.3.

Aineias' journey from Troy to Rome some notice of other views which he does not accept. Some writers, he says, deny that Aineias ever reached Italy; others say it was another Aineias who did so. Some say it was only his son Askanios who reached Italy. Still others allow that Aineias founded a settlement in Italy but say that he then returned to Troy, where he reigned as king and passed on his rule to his son Askanios, "and his family held power for a long time" (καὶ τὸ ἀπ' ἐκείνου γένος ἐπὶ πλείστον κατασχεῖν τὴν ἀρχήν). In this last view we may recognize a reaction against the Roman Aineias similar to that of Strabo. Like Strabo's, it was based, Dionysios tells us, on a narrow reading of Poseidon's prophecy in *Iliad* XX, which he quotes. Those who held this view, however, were not content, like Strabo, to point out the inconsistency of the epic text with an emigrant Aineias; they actually inferred, according to Dionysios, that *Homer must have known* of descendants of Aineias reigning in Phrygia: ὑπολαβόντες οὖν τὸν Ὅμηρον ἐν Φρυγίᾳ δυναστεύοντας εἶδέναι τοὺς ἄνδρας, ὡς δὴ οὐ δυνατόν ὄν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ οἰκοῦντας βασιλεύειν Τρώων, τὴν ἀνακομιδὴν τοῦ Αἰνείου ἀνέπλασαν. Those who "made up the story of Aineias' return" were not so sophisticated as Strabo, for on the one hand they gave away too much in accepting the whole western journey, and on the other they inferred too much in taking Poseidon's prophecy to be a *post eventum* prediction whose historical fulfillment must have been personally known to the poet. In making this latter move they became the first to assert historical Aineiadaí as the cause of Poseidon's prediction.

If we return now to the conclusion of Strabo's discussion, we will see that, just as he himself seems to have had predecessors in his desire for a narrow construction of *Τρώεσσιν ἀνάξει*, so, too, had his contemporary Dionysios been anticipated in his desire to rebut that construction. Dionysios' rebuttal was the very reasonable one of making explicit what must after all have been the assumption of Stesichoros, Hellanikos, and everyone else who had imagined Aineias and his family ruling anywhere but in Troy: "Rule over the Trojans whom he took with him, though they were settled somewhere other than Troy, was by no means impossible."⁴⁸ But others had not been so reasonable, for they wished, as Strabo dryly remarks, to emend the text so that it read νῦν δὲ δὴ Αἰνείαιο γένος πάντεσσιν ἀνάξει, meaning by Αἰνείαιο γένος none other than the Romans themselves.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ *AR* I 53.5. This sentence follows immediately the one quoted in the preceding paragraph.

⁴⁹ It is probably this version of the text which lies behind *Aeneid* III 98 f where Apollo says of the Trojans' original motherland (Italy) *Hic domus Aeneae cunctis dominabitur oris, et nati natorum et qui nascentur ab illis* — not the other way around, as has been suggested by R. D. Williams, *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Tertius* (Oxford 1962) ad loc.

This sort of pulling and pushing over the figures of Aineias and his family seems to reflect, for their predecessors no less than for Strabo and Dionysios themselves, a conflict between those who accepted and even championed the attachment of Rome to the Greek legendary tradition and those who resented and so came to dispute that attachment.⁵⁰ It seems to me significant that our earliest sources for the claim that Aineias had really stayed at home in the Troad belong to the period of Roman domination in the East, a period of bitter resentment against Rome in Asia Minor and of increasing Roman self-advertisement as the descendant and successor of Troy.⁵¹ But most important for our present discussion is that, whatever their motives were, those who wished to claim that Poseidon's prediction in the *Iliad* had been fulfilled in the Troad used no other evidence to support their claim than that prediction itself. Strabo and the unnamed writers referred to by Dionysios would certainly have referred, if they had known of it, to the *fact* of Aineias' family surviving in the Troad rather than rely only on an arbitrarily narrow interpretation of Homer's text. But they had no more evidence to use than did Robert Wood and the other initiators of the modern hypothesis of historical Aineiadaï.

Our survey of the testimonia which have been thought to support the case for Aineiadaï in the Troad shows that they do not support it at all. That result is not really so surprising as it might seem. For if our negative conclusion about the value of these pieces of evidence is correct, we have come to it not because we have been granted an insight which was denied to Wilamowitz but simply because we have examined the evidence without the prior assumption that the prophecies of Poseidon and Aphrodite in themselves imply Aineiadaï as patrons of

⁵⁰ Our present discussion might thus be taken to supplement, in a small way, previous study of the Roman use of the Aineias legend, particularly its use in support of Roman interference in the East in the second and first centuries B.C. See, for example, J. Perret, *Les origines de la légende troyenne de Rome* (Paris 1942) 501–519; G. K. Galinsky (above, n.29), 172 n.83, 187 f. Perret's discussion is the fuller of the two, and his own belief, no longer acceptable in the light of archaeological evidence, that Aineias was not connected with Rome before the third century does not vitiate his discussion of this later period. B. Forte (above, n.46) discusses Greek reaction to Roman expansion but does not take up the question of the Aineias legend as a source of evidence in its own right.

⁵¹ This self-advertisement must have been especially brought home to Greeks by the claims of the *gens Iulia* to descent from Rome's founder. L. Julius Caesar, consul in 90 and censor in 89, extended his family's patronage to Ilion by renewing exemption from taxation (*ILS* 8770); the Dictator made special awards to Ilion after his defeat of Pompey (Strabo XIII 1.27); Augustus rebuilt the temple of Athena and found himself declared kinsman, patron, and benefactor of the Trojans (*IGR* 4.200–201).

the epic. That assumption has worked in the past, and still works now, like the green spectacles the Wizard made everyone wear in the Emerald City; wearing them one sees everything in the city as green. It was an assumption more natural in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries than it is now, for one thing because scholars were then familiar with patronage as a frequent and even a normal expectation in the life of a poet. They were also unfamiliar with the nature and condition of oral epic traditions, and with the fact that the Greek epic was the product of such a tradition. Despite their real awareness of the great differences between the purposes and the audiences of the *Iliad* and of the *Aeneid*, they were led to read promises which would have been historical foreshadowing in Vergil as being historical foreshadowing in Homer.

This is not the place to embark on a full-scale discussion of these two prophecies; to do that we would have to consider the whole of Aineias' role in the *Iliad*, and we would need to establish the thematic concerns of the poet of the Hymn by analyzing his poem. But we owe it, nonetheless, to the very problem we have been analyzing, and also to the many who have read the epic prophecies as references to the poet's own world, at least to suggest how these two passages can be read as integral in their contexts.

In the *Iliad* Aineias' survival stands in contrast with Hektor's death, and the fated continuance of his line is opposed by the doom which throughout the poem seems to embrace Hektor's family. On the Achaian side these two contrasting possibilities of survival and of early death are pointedly embodied in the single person of Achilles. At IX 410 ff he tells Odysseus and the other ambassadors from Agamemnon that his mother has told him of two differing fates which bear him on toward death. If he stays at Troy and fights, he will win great glory but will never return home; if he returns to his home in Phthia, he will live long but never win fame. Achilles sees the choice as still open, for he has just announced his intention of returning home on the morrow. And yet we see him tacitly withdraw this intention by stages within the course of the same interview. The notion of choosing between alternatives is not, in the end, relevant to Achilles' tragedy, but the poet has gone out of his way to introduce the idea, and even to show Achilles making a choice for a long and quiet life at home, in order to present us with as full an embodiment as possible of the alternatives latent in his hero's situation.

He does something like this for the Trojan side as well when he uses Aineias to embody the possibility of survival in contrast with the repeatedly foreshadowed death of Hektor. In neither case do we think things could turn out differently than they do: Hektor can no

more survive than Achilles can really return to Phthia. But for both men the poet shows us the alternative, the road not taken, and he shows it to us not simply in the form of an idea but as it might be realized in action. His procedure here is like that which he often uses when his characters are faced with the need to make some choice in the midst of action. At such times he regularly has his characters express to themselves in a balanced way *both* of the possibilities between which they must choose.⁵² When he does this he is not interested in the psychology of choice but in sharply and fully presenting a character's situation.

This same instinct for incarnating both of two incompatible possibilities as a means of sharpening our appreciation of the one which becomes fact lies behind the poet's beginning his story of Odysseus' homeward journey in the *Odyssey* with Kalypso. Odysseus has refused her offer of an uneventful immortality; his choice for Penelope is an aspect of his character (like Achilles' short but glorious life, or Hektor's conscious self-sacrifice in defense of his city). But we are still shown what that unending life would be like and even how Odysseus responds to the passage of years on Kalypso's island. It would not be entirely frivolous, I think, to say that Kalypso stands to Penelope as Aineias stands to Hektor.

While death is to be the general fate of Troy's defenders, the poet of the *Iliad* makes Hektor in particular the carrier of the city's doom. Troy's safety is identified with him, and the long shadow which the city's fall casts before it falls most darkly on him.⁵³ To contrast with his often foreshadowed death, and with that of his family and city as well, the poet places beside him that one among all his comrades on whom the shadow does not fall. In book XX Aineias comes forward to face Achilles in a contest which he, like Hektor later, cannot rationally expect to win. Through being divinely rescued at the last second, he helps to show us the limits of Achilles' power in the face of the god,⁵⁴

⁵² The original and still basic discussion of these scenes is that of W. Arend, *Die typischen Szenen bei Homer* (Berlin 1933, rpt. 1975) 106 ff. See also C. Voigt, *Überlegung und Entscheidung* (Berlin 1934, rpt. 1972).

⁵³ Hektor's sense of coming death: VI 447 ff; Troy's fate identified with his: VI 403, XXII 410 ff. Further, see Schadwaldt (above, n.1), 207 ff on Hektor's meeting with Andromache in VI, and see J. Redfield, *Nature and Culture in the Iliad: The Tragedy of Hector* (Chicago 1975) 124 ff and *passim* on Hektor's social position as Troy's defense.

⁵⁴ Achilles' fight with the Skamander will show this same mortal limitation (XXI 233 ff, especially 263 ff) as well as the same crucial support from the immortals (284 ff, 328 ff); so, too, will Apollo's final deception of Achilles just before his fight with Hektor (XXI 596 — XXII 20). The themes of being urged by a god to face Achilles and of being rescued by a god at the last moment are both renewed for us at the end of XXI in the case of Aineias' comrade Agenor.

and he also helps prepare us to feel the hopelessness of Hektor's final position in XXII when, facing the same Achilles, he is not helped but abandoned by Athena. Aineias also contrasts with Hektor in needing to be urged to fight Achilles, and this helps no little to define the greatness of Hektor's final stand when he remains alone outside the walls. That final stand is, indeed, immediately anticipated in the brief, abortive meeting between Achilles and Hektor which immediately follows the duel with Aineias: twice Hektor advances on his own to meet Achilles; first he is warned back, and then he is physically rescued by Apollo. On one level this anticipation is needed to keep us from thinking that Hektor is simply hanging back during Achilles' *aristeia*; but it also helps complete the meaning of the Aineias-episode as preparation for that final meeting.

Finally, when Poseidon explains his rescue of Aineias, the contrast of Aineias with Hektor and the preparation for Hektor's meeting with Achilles become most striking and most overt:

ἤδη γὰρ Πριάμου γενεὴν ἤχθηρε Κρονίων·
νῦν δὲ δὴ Αἰνείας βίη Τρώεσσιν ἀνάξει
καὶ παίδων παῖδες, τοί κεν μετόπισθε γένωνται.

Poseidon's foreknowledge of the survival of Aineias' family is a complement to his knowledge that *Priam's* family is doomed, and his reference to Aineias' future — like Hektor's forebodings about his own death and the fall of Troy — need not be thought to extend beyond the bounds of the Heroic Age. It is certainly easy for modern readers, conditioned as we are by a very different historical consciousness and accustomed to think of ourselves as part of an endlessly extended and continuous stream of history, to take such a reference to "sons' sons" as a kind of poetic shorthand for the indefinite future. But in Homer's world such a phrase is more likely to be confined in its implication to the successful completion of a man's own life (compare Achilles' assessment of his father's life at XXIV 534 ff; perhaps also Pindar *Is.* 8.26f, *N.* 7.98ff).

Moreover, the poet of the *Iliad* shows by his treatment of Aineias' family elsewhere in his poem that, far from desiring to glorify it as a family, he would prefer to limit it as much as possible — precisely in order to sharpen our sense of Aineias as the unique bearer of its future.

Lenz (above, n. 2) 153 ff, presents well and at length the functions of Aineias' appearance in XX; for a perceptive discussion of the partly similar use of Aineias in XIII see C. Michel, *Erläuterungen zum N der Ilias* (Heidelberg, 1971) 92 ff.

In Homer's poem there is no Anchises living in Troy in the tenth year of the war; in fact Aineias' father is nowhere in the poem spoken of as though he were still living, and at XIII 463 ff Deiphobos reminds Aineias that he was raised in the house of his older sister Hippodameia and her husband Alkathöös. Not only has Anchises been thus quietly removed from the scene; Aineias has no son in the *Iliad* either. It looks very much as though the poet wished to ignore both father and son, although their survival was well known in later tradition; Anchises appears in the poems of the Cycle very much alive and living in Troy (where his presence is especially striking from our present point of view, because of the strong desire of the Cyclic poets to respect the details of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* whenever they could). It is, of course, remotely possible that Anchises' presence in Troy during the war, and Askanios' very existence, were both post-Homeric inventions. But no one, whatever his belief about the relation of the Cycle to the *Iliad*, would want to put much faith in that possibility.

A suggestion sometimes advanced to explain why Anchises is absent from the *Iliad* is that Homer was assuming a version of his story in which he was already dead — killed by Zeus as punishment for revealing his liaison with Aphrodite. But if Homer was assuming that, he must have been opposing the otherwise universal Greek tradition that Anchises was lamed, not killed, for his indiscretion. And stranger still, he must have been assuming, as something too familiar to need mentioning, a version of Anchises' fate known only, as far as our evidence shows, to himself and, nine centuries later, to the Roman mythographer Hyginus (Fab. 94).

The simplest explanation of Homer's peculiar silence about Aineias' family is to be found, I think, in the very passage of *Iliad* XX which we have been considering. Aineias has to be rescued from Achilles, Poseidon says, "so that the family of Dardanos may not perish utterly and without seed" (318). On the one hand, Anchises' branch of that family is destined to survive; on the other, Priam's branch is now "hated by Zeus" and destined to be blotted out. The poet seems to have wanted these two parts of the Trojan royal family to incarnate a special contrast between fated survival and fated destruction. He seems also to have wanted to embody the potential survival of each part of the family in a single person, for what Poseidon says clearly assumes that the future of the family of Dardanos is at risk in the persons of Aineias and Hektor. It is to achieve this concentration that the poet removed both Anchises and Askanios from his story: Aineias' personal survival would, after all, not be so necessary as Poseidon says it is if we had been told that his son was already born, or that his father was still living. (For the poet's

possibly similar editing of Hektor's family as well, see the Appendix below.)

Poseidon's statement of the fated future of Aineias and his family deepens by contrast the despairing appeals later addressed to Hektor by Priam and Hekuba, the aged heads of the family now hated by Zeus. When he stands alone before the walls, Hektor will be seen, as always, against the background of the living members of his family, the persons whom he cannot protect and who cannot protect him. He will not be motivated, like Aineias, by pride in his birth or ancestry; he will fight to defend his present loved ones. That is why it is fitting for Aineias, not Hektor, to put before us the whole family tree of the Dardanids (*Iliad* XX 213–241). When Aineias recites his proud genealogy before his duel with Achilles, we hear the names of Priam's line linked fatefully with his own and are thus armed with information we need in order to appreciate the sharp contrast Poseidon draws soon thereafter between his branch of the family and Priam's. What Poseidon says needs no reference to members of the poet's audience to account for it. Like most other things in Aineias' encounter with Achilles, it is a deliberate preparation for the final fight with Hektor.

In the *Hymn to Aphrodite* the goddess makes a prediction about Aineias and his descendants which is nearly identical to that of Poseidon. As was said earlier, she uses it to reassure her lover Anchises, for when he awakes to find the young woman with whom he has made love revealed as a goddess, he expresses a fear that he will suffer for having lain with an immortal. Aphrodite assures him he need fear no harm from her or the other gods, and then she adds (196 f),

σοὶ δ' ἔσται φίλος υἱὸς ὃς ἐν Τρώεσσιν ἀνάξει
καὶ παῖδες παῖδεσσι διαμπερὲς ἐκγεγάονται·

Her promise is directly related to one of the central concerns of the Hymn, which is to imply that the mortal desire to escape death should be satisfied in the continuance of mortal families; as Plato said, in begetting children mortality has a share in immortality.⁵⁵ To Aphrodite her unwilling contact with a mortal brings grief and shame, but Anchises' contact with a goddess will leave him the qualified immortality of a son and a prospering succession for the future. That son, who will

⁵⁵ *Symposium* 208A (Diotima is speaking). What is said in this and the following paragraph about the themes of the Hymn I have argued at length in *Nursling of Mortality: A Study of the Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*. Studien zur klassischen Philologie 3 (Frankfurt and Bern 1981).

incarnate the only immortality Anchises can win, will appropriately be reared by nymphs of the forest whom the poet goes out of his way to describe (257–273) as mediating figures whose lives, though not eternal, extend far beyond the limit set for individual men.

Of course sometimes the love of the gods does lead to a man's becoming fully immortal. Aphrodite herself tells, in her long speech of explanation to Anchises, the stories of Ganymede and Tithonos, members of the Dardanid clan who escaped death altogether. But the way she tells their stories makes them ambivalent examples of tampering with the normal unfolding of mortal life. For Ganymede the process of aging was canceled, but the result is an eternal adolescence, severed from his family and forestalled from adulthood or paternity. Tithonos, on the other hand, found his death canceled but not his aging, so in addition to the loss of all family connections, he becomes a chilling example of the undesirability of the simple cancelation of death. The two stories are complementary; they illustrate different, and implicitly unsatisfactory, experiments in altering the normal conditions of mortal life. Anchises himself represents an implicitly recommended third way. Aphrodite offers him no direct explanation of why she will not make him immortal, as Zeus and Eos had their lovers made immortal, but when she goes on to tell him of Aineias and to describe with such a clear, thematic relevance those nymphs who will nurse him, the manner of Anchises' escape from death is clear. It can only be in the person of his son, and his son's sons, who shall be born continually.⁵⁶ Aphrodite says nothing of Aineias' future heroism, nothing of the specific accomplishments which epic heroes normally liked to anticipate for their children; in the Hymn Aineias is important as the carrier of his family's

⁵⁶ The small but significant difference in the wording of the two prophecies in the Hymn and the *Iliad* should, I think, be understood in these terms. In the *Iliad* Anchises' branch of the Dardanidai is contrasted with Priam's; Zeus has consented to the extirpation of the latter, so that Aineias and his descendants will replace them as rulers among the Trojans. In the Hymn the political fact of Aineias' rule (to say nothing of his replacing Hektor as Priam's successor) is not the burden of Aphrodite's promise; what she holds up to Anchises is rather a guarantee of the human continuity of his family. The different functions of the two prophecies thus lead naturally, though not of course inevitably, to Poseidon's speaking of continued rule and Aphrodite's speaking of continuous birth. Naturally, those who think neither prophecy was determined by its poetic context but that both were meant to refer to living members of the poet's audience explain their variation differently; Càssola, for example (above, n.16), 249 f. accepts a suggestion of A. Hoekstra, *The Sub-Epic Stage of the Formulaic Tradition* (Amsterdam 1969) 39 f, that the *Iliad*'s prophecy was designed for still-reigning Aineiadai, while that of the Hymn was modified to honor surviving, but no longer reigning, members of the family.

continuity, and thereby of the extension and the hoped-for fulfillment of his father's life.⁵⁷

The poet of the Hymn offers no flattery to members of his audience who might think themselves closer to Aineias than the rest of us. Anchises has not earned Aphrodite's affection; he is simply the handsome object of an overpowering, and shaming, desire cast into her by Zeus in revenge for the many times she has made Zeus himself desire mortal women. Ganymede is no hero, and his rape by Zeus leaves his father Tros stricken with grief and needing to be paid the ransom of his famous immortal horses. Tithonos as the Hymn describes him is no cause for his family to vaunt themselves. Aphrodite herself, instead of being proud of her mortal offspring or solicitous for their welfare, speaks of the reproach and shame which this affair will bring on her among the gods, and she commands Anchises to secrecy about what has occurred.⁵⁸ The poet of the Hymn meant his story, with its evaluation of the human condition in the person of Anchises and its clear suggestion of a mediation in the extreme terms of mortality and immortality, to apply to all men equally.

It is time to conclude our discussion, which has been quite long enough for its mainly negative results. We have reviewed the evidence which has often been thought, without real investigation, to point to the existence of Aineiadaí in the Troad who might have influenced or even been patrons of Greek epic poets, and we have found that it does not do that. Later testimonia drawn from Hellanikos, Menekrates of Xanthos, Demetrios of Skepsis, and others were gathered by earlier scholars as a kind of afterthought for the sake of their apparent consistency with a hypothesis which originated in *a priori* interpretation of the epic texts. We have suggested that the two passages which inspired that hypothesis should be read — as many students of Homer have innocently and correctly read them — as integral to their poetic contexts and not as composed to flatter "Aineiadaí" in the poets' audiences. The future rule of Aineias which Poseidon predicts in the *Iliad* is the future rule which Hektor will not survive to enjoy. The future rule of Aineias which Aphrodite promises in the Hymn embodies the success with which Anchises will surpass the bounds of his inescapable mortality.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ Aineias is the *θάλος* (278) who brings fulfillment to his father's wish for a *θαλερός γόνος* (104).

⁵⁸ She is far indeed from the Venus of the *Aeneid*!

⁵⁹ This paper owes much to the helpful advice of my colleagues Agnes Michels and Jerzy Linderski and to my wife, Beatrix Smith, for her essential help and criticism throughout. I am grateful to Professors George Goold and Mark

APPENDIX: SKAMANDRIOS AS SURVIVOR

As Andromache mourns over Hektor's body at the close of the *Iliad* (XXIV 725–745), she speaks of what will become of her and her son after the fall of Troy. For herself she foresees being taken into captivity with other Trojan women; for Astyanax she sees either servitude in the house of a harsh Achaian prince or that he will be thrown at once from the city's walls by one of the many enemies who have had a brother or a father or a son killed by Hektor. She does not need any gift of prophecy to see these as the two possible fates of her son; but the second of them *is* in a sense prophetic, for the poet of the *Iliad* himself appears to assume it in Poseidon's prophecy at XX 302 ff; here in XXIV the fullness with which Andromache foresees Astyanax' death is naturally taken to be deliberate foreshadowing by the poet. Later tradition was almost unanimous in following him on this point: in the *Little Iliad* (Fr. 19 Allen) Skamandrios / Astyanax was killed in just the way Andromache feared; Stesichoros told the same (Σ on Euripides *Andromache* 10); and the tragedians followed suit (e.g., Euripides *Troades* 721 ff).⁶⁰

But this seems not to have been the only tradition about Hektor's son, for a scattering of Classical and later writers recorded their own or others' belief that he survived Troy's fall and, often in company with Aineias' son Askanios, founded one or more cities in the Troad. Our earliest witness for this un-Homeric tradition is Hellanikos (Fr. 4F31 Jacoby = Dion. Hal. *AR* I 47.5), who wrote that Skamandrios was taken prisoner to Greece by Neoptolemos but then released and that he and "the other children of Hektor" returned to Troy and were restored by Askanios to "their ancestral power." As we saw in the essay above, this refounding of Troy by Skamandrios and Askanios is not only

Edwards, who read and commented on the essay in its earliest form. I am grateful, too, for discussion of its content and for early encouragement to one who can no longer receive my thanks, one whose strict judgment of the final product I shall miss; for Cedric Whitman was, among students of Homer, *εἰς ἀντὶ πολλῶν*.

⁶⁰ Scholars have disagreed whether Astyanax' death was a known part of the Trojan story for Homer and his audiences; see, e.g., W. Kullmann, "Vergangenheit und Zukunft in der *Ilias*," *Poetica* (1968) 31, n.39. It seems to me that the fullness and the specific detail of Andromache's fear point to Astyanax' being thrown from the walls as something already known by his hearers; on the other hand possible later variation in the identity of his killer (Neoptolemos in the *Little Iliad*, Odysseus in the *Iliupersis* — according to Proklos, p. 108 Allen) might be used in support of Kullmann's belief that it was not. See also M. Pohlenz, *Die griechische Tragödie*² (Göttingen 1954) II, 119, in favor of a pre-Homeric tradition, and (*contra*) Kullmann, *Die Quellen der Ilias* (Wiesbaden 1960) 186 f, 352 f.

un-Homeric but unhistorical as well: the site of the city seems to have lain deserted between (roughly) 1100 and 700. Later on, indeed, the Aiolian colonists of New Ilion might think of themselves as successors to Priam's Troy, or as new Achaians who had displaced descendants of Homer's Trojans and Dardanians; they might therefore think of their city as having always been occupied, as Hellanikos seems to have accepted (to gratify local sentiment, Strabo says [XIII 1.41 f]). But how, in the face of the authority of Homer and the Epic Cycle, did they come by the notion of Hektor's and Aineias' sons as the refounders of their city? Few will think that historical memory had preserved, outside the oral epic tradition, the story of Troy VII B from the twelfth century to the seventh. Did the seventh-century colony incorporate the household of a native prince who claimed descent from Skamandrios (or from a native ancestor whom the Greeks identified with Skamandrios)? And was the claim accepted in spite of the epic tradition? Or were there, perhaps, among the traditions about the Heroic Age stories in which Hektor had more than a single son, stories in which at least one son survived and so could be assigned the role of having founded a native successor-state on the site of Troy?

Before we try to answer these questions, we need to take note of some other, later sources for the idea of Skamandrios as a survivor. In Euripides' *Andromache* Hektor's widow speaks of herself (224) as having nursed bastard children for her husband. A scholion on this verse is interested to defend Andromache's (and Euripides') truthfulness and tells us that a certain Anaxikrates ("late Hellenistic" in Jacoby's judgment) had distinguished Skamandrios and Astyanax — Homer's two names for one child (*Iliad* VI 402 f) — as two persons. The text of the scholion is confused and fragmentary (see Anaxikrates, 307F1 Jacoby), but it seems to make Skamandrios the illegitimate son required by Andromache's words; it also appears to say that, along with Anchises and Aineias, he survived the war and escaped εἰς τὰ ἐν Ἰδῇ. This information is said to come from the second book of Anaxikrates' *Argolika*. Also in the fifth century, Xanthos of Lydia, according to the same source, told of Skamandrios as surviving the war (Fr. 765 F21 Jacoby), and he credited him, to Strabo's annoyance, with leading a migration of Phrygians across the Hellespont from Europe to Asia (Fr. 765F14 Jacoby = Strabo XIV 5.29).

In the fourth century Dionysios of Chalkis (quoted by Lysimachos of Alexandria in a scholion on Euripides *Andromache* 10; Lysimachos, 382F9 Jacoby) wrote that Theseus' son Akamas had wanted to help Askanios and Skamandrios in refounding Troy and Dardanos. The Athenians opposed such a restoration, so Akamas proceeded instead to

found, or restore, other settlements in the Troad: Gergis, Perkote, Kolonai, Chryse, Ophryneion, Sidene, Astyra, Skepsis, Polichna, Daskyleion, Iliukolone, and Arisbe; of all these he allowed Hektor's and Aineias' sons to be proclaimed the founders. The role of the Theseid Akamas, a person unknown to Homer, is Athenian propaganda, and the story implies earlier accounts in which only the two "official" founders figured. The abortive attempt to restore Troy and Dardanos may also imply an earlier account, like that used by Hellanikos, in which Skamandrios and Askanios did restore the fallen city. How early these stories were told it would be hard to say, but none need be older than the fifth century.

In the second century Demetrios of Skepsis claimed as founders for his native city, as we saw earlier, the same pair of Trojan survivors. But for him Skepsis was not, as for Dionysios of Chalkis, just one among many but rather the main and perhaps only settlement of the two founders; at any rate it was in Skepsis, he believed, that their families continued to hold power for a considerable time. Another second-century author, Hegesianax of Alexandria Troas (= "Kephalon of Gergis"; see Hegesianax, 45F7-9 Jacoby) should probably be mentioned in this connection. He gave Aineias four sons — Askanios, Euryleon, Romylos, and Romos — and told of Aineias' departure for the west. In his version Aineias died in Thrace, and Romylos and Romos continued on to Italy, where Romos founded Rome. It might just be significant that Askanios is not mentioned in connection with the western journey, for that leaves him free to have remained at home, possibly to refound Troy, as in Hellanikos, and possibly in conjunction with Skamandrios.

Finally, two brief but interesting references in still later writers who, to the extent that they depended on sources other than their own imaginations, both drew on earlier mythographers. Konon, a writer of the late first century B.C., or early first century A.D., told of Aineias' settling, after the war, on Mt. Ida but wrote that he left the Troad willingly (ultimately to found Aineia in Thrace) when Skamandrios and his brother Oxybios returned from Lydia, where Priam had sent them for safety during the siege, to claim their ancestral rule (Konon, Fr. 1.46 Jacoby, from Photios). The idea of Skamandrios ruling over a restored Troy is familiar; and help from Aineias' family for a son of Hektor is also a motif we have seen before, although this is the first time one hears of the help coming from Aineias himself. The notion, however, that a child or children of Hektor had not been in Troy when it fell is new and probably is owed to someone who had heard of their postwar role but no longer knew how they could have survived the

sack of the city. The motif of help from Aineias turns up again in an otherwise unknown, and rather suspect, writer named Abas (quoted by Servius Dan. on *Aeneid* IX 262; = Abas, Fr. 46F1 Jacoby), who is said to have written *Troica*. He said that Astyanax (not Skamandrios) ruled in Troy after the Greeks had gone home; he was driven out by Antenor (not the first one hears of Antenor's alleged disloyalty to Priam's family, but all of it post-Homeric) but was restored by Aineias. Where this story comes from is hard to imagine, especially since we have not even a rough idea of when Abas wrote. Probably like Konon he was dependent on Hellenistic prose mythographers and antiquarian writers of local history. It is, of course, conceivable that either or both of them preserved ideas which went back to poetic sources of the seventh or the sixth century. But more likely all they give us directly is evidence that in Classical and perhaps earlier times it had sometimes been believed that a son of Hektor survived the fall of Troy and restored the ancient rule of his family.

Even a brief survey of these fragments of speculation from Classical and later times shows, I think, that the occasional belief in Skamandrios' survival is more likely to reflect some strand within the large body of Greek legendary tradition than to be evidence for a particular family which might have claimed him as an ancestor. An aristocratic family, whether Greek or Hellenized barbarian, which wanted a Trojan ancestor would not have invented Skamandrios' survival in the face of a unified tradition in the *Iliad* and the Epic Cycle that he had been killed as a child. They would have chosen another Trojan forebear — Askanios himself, or Helenos, or one of Antenor's sons. In addition, Skamandrios' alleged foundations are too varied and too disputed to be the reflection of a single family; the existence of such a family in a particular place in the Dark Age or in the Archaic period would have tended to localize stories of the activity of their ancestor — and would also have left behind some memory of other members of the family as well. As with Askanios, it looks as though some part of the epic tradition spoke of Skamandrios as surviving the war but did not say enough to limit later competing claims in different parts of the Troad.

Is it possible, then, that some strand in the once manifold epic tradition told of Troy's fall in a way which included the survival of a son of Hektor? We have no evidence pointing directly to an epic source; the evidence is indirect and, as we have seen, all derived from writers of the fifth century and later. As the scholiast on *Iliad* XXIV 735 correctly put it: οἱ δὲ νεώτεροί φασιν αὐτὸν οἰκιστὴν ὕστερον γεγενῆσθαι Τροίας καὶ ἄλλων πόλεων. But the evidence is suggestive, especially if we remember that Homer may have differed from other poets about

Hektor's family as he seems to have done about Aineias' (see above, p. 48 ff). By restricting Anchises' family to a single strand (at least in the male line) and by putting it at risk in the person of Aineias, the poet sharpens our sense of its contrast with Priam and *his* sons, especially Hektor. In a similar way it appears possible that Homer's treatment of Hektor's family also varied from that of other poets but that, because in this case he was followed by the poets of the Cycle, other versions have left little trace. It may be that the poet explains to us early in the *Iliad* the identity of Skamandrios and Astyanax (VI 402 f) because they were not always the same person; he himself wanted only a single (doomed) child for his doomed Hektor, and he certainly didn't want any bastards. If that is so, it may be that Anaxikrates was recalling rather than, as Jacoby believed, inventing a distinction between Astyanax and Skamandrios.⁶¹

Moreover, there is something about the two names of Hektor's son in the *Iliad* which our tentative hypothesis might help to explain. For it seems odd that "Astyanax," the name Homer says was in general use and which has all the appearance of a prince's given name, is said to be in fact a nickname given to him because the people looked on his father as Troy's only defense. And it seems further odd that "Skamandrios," which does not look like a nickname either and which has no unique reference to its bearer, is presented as a private name used peculiarly by Hektor.⁶² Yet the poet goes out of his way to offer this explanation for one child's having two names (something he never felt a need to do in his frequent uses of Paris'/Alexandros' two names), and he does this even though the explanation he gives is hardly suggested by the names themselves; indeed it is not naturally consistent with them. We might understand better what the poet was doing if we imagined that in other stories known to Homer and his audience "Astyanax" was the name of Hektor's legitimate son and heir, and "Skamandrios" was the name of a

⁶¹ See Jacoby on Anaxikrates Fr. 307F1. I note that R. von Scheliha, *Patroklos* (Basel 1943) 364 (note to p. 111) suggested that the identification of Skamandrios with Astyanax was an innovation of Homer's. But she made that suggestion for a reason very different from that advanced here, for she thought Astyanax, like his mother and father, to have been newly introduced into the Troy story and thought of Skamandrios as the crown prince, already known to the tradition, who was killed when Troy fell.

⁶² The poet's explanation of the two names has been simply accepted by A. Heubeck, "Die homerische Göttersprache," *Würzburger Jahrbücher für die Altertumswissenschaft* 4 (1949/50) 216; cf. also P. Kretschmer in *Glotta* 12 (1923) 103. Wilamowitz suggested that Astyanax was a "Hellenic" name added by the poet himself as a doublet to the non-Greek Skamandrios (*Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philologisch-historische Klasse* [1925] 239 and n.3).

son by someone other than Andromache. In order to give Hektor a single son the poet had to accept "Astyanax" as the familiar, public name of Hektor's and Andromache's son, and he had then somehow to explain "Skamandrios" as another name for the same person, a name not so generally, publicly, known. If that was indeed the problem he faced, one can only say that he solved it with genius, for he used the existence of a second and more private name as a means to convey Hektor's love for his infant son:

τόν ῥ' Ἑκτωρ καλέεσκε Σκαμάνδριον, αὐτὰρ οἱ ἄλλοι
'Ἀστυάνακτ'· οἷος γὰρ ἔρύετο Ἴλιον Ἑκτωρ.

For all their Homeric calm and their neutral descriptive tone, the two lines carry a dense emotional burden: the great warrior's personal, private relation to his only child; the tremendous, inescapable distance between Hektor and the people who look to him for their safety; and the simple, tragic dependence of an entire city on one father and husband.

To sum up, then. Some scholars and antiquarians in the fifth century and later had heard of the story that Hektor's son Skamandrios survived the Trojan War and joined with Aineias' son in founding or refounding one or another city in the Troad. We do not know that such a story was ever the official tradition of any city; it may always have been a matter for historians and mythographers. Nor is there any reason to believe that the story was put about by men who wished to be taken for Hektor's distant progeny and to attach themselves thus to the epic tradition, or to the ultimate paternity of Zeus. The story, indeed, contradicts the main stream of that tradition as we know it from Homer and the Cyclic poets who followed him. It appears that the least unreasonable hypothesis which might account for Skamandrios' occasional survival is that he was not always Hektor's only son and in particular was not always identified with Astyanax. The influence of the *Iliad* and of the poems of the Cycle which were composed in its shadow was so strong that epic poetry directly attesting his independent existence has left us no trace. But in the Greek settlements of the Troad his survival was remembered at least for a time, for his name had been linked with that of Askanios in speculation about the continuity of native peoples and their settlements with the Trojans of the Heroic Age.

THE LYCIDAS OF THEOCRITUS' *IDYLL* 7

EDWIN L. BROWN

In memoriam George H. Brant

TO begin by placing the Lycidas of *Idyll* 7 in minimal context, the dramatic date of the poem in which this choice Theocritean figure appears was the immediate past. The late 270s B.C. may not be far wrong, whether the narrator Simichidas is in some sense Theocritus himself, as seems natural to infer, or not. The setting is the isle of Cos and the season the time of threshing. To help celebrate the Feast of Demeter among friends in the country, the narrator and two comrades set out from town on foot. In the heat of the day they come upon Lycidas, a goatherd whom Simichidas induces to exchange songs with him, as well as pleasantries and even considered opinions on poetry. After the songs, Lycidas gives the narrator his throwing stick, then takes his separate way while the townsmen go on to enjoy the Harvest Home.

Even so brief a summary makes room for the peculiar feature of a goatherd not only reciting his own poem but also criticizing others' literary standards. As K. J. Dover summarizes in a fine review of the scholarship on Lycidas,¹ he may be a real Coan goatherd with a genius for poetry, a real poet who "dropped out" of urban life by dressing and behaving like a goatherd, a real poet whom Theocritus has chosen to picture as a goatherd, or a wholly imaginary character. "One element in the poem seems to point positively towards the third and fourth interpretations: that is the fact that Lykidas speaks . . . with the relaxed, slightly patronizing confidence of an older man . . . to a promising youth, and also presents him with a stick as a gift. This gift could not fail to remind any Greek of the famous incident in Hesiod <when the Muses> 'plucked a sprig of sturdy olive and gave it to me as a sceptre . . . and bade me sing of the immortal gods.' " One recalls as well that Archilochus tells of an encounter similar to Hesiod's with the Muses, and of a similar token conferred.² Even Horace's "Lesbian lyre from the Muse" (*Odes*

¹ *Theocritus: Select Poems*, ed. K. J. Dover, with Introduction and Commentary (1971) 148 f.

² A. Kambylis, "Zur Dichterweihe des Archilochos," *Hermes* 91 (1963) 129-150; W. Peek, *Philologus* 99 (1955) 4-50. An interesting sidelight on the fame

1.1.33 f) may be founded on a scene in which Alcaeus received, again from the Muses, Orpheus' lyre.³

Still other instances of the Divine Encounter motif could be cited,⁴ all of which should warn against accepting Lohse's conclusion⁵ that the poet had to consecrate himself through the agency of his own herdsman-figure Lycidas because no historical person existed to whom Theocritus was indebted for the genre of pastoral. Hardly more satisfactory is the position of Mario Puelma⁶ and of Archibald Cameron,⁷ who revert to the theory of a historically real poet, though one now unidentifiable. Yet their researches are potentially of great value because they demonstrate that detail after detail of the scene involving Lycidas and Simichidas conforms to the conventions of a Divine Encounter motif traceable throughout Greek literature. Both recognize too that these conventions are combined with the topos of the Poet's Consecration, a theme that begins in Hesiod and long continues to influence the poets' way of viewing their vocation. But it is Georg Luck who first drew the logical conclusion that just as elsewhere the authority to ply the poet's craft is regularly conferred by divine agency, so also in *Idyll* 7

of this meeting is shed by a mid-fifth-century whiteground pyxis in Boston, whose scene is interpreted by E. Zwierlein-Diehl in *MDAI* (A) 83 (1968) 186-199, pl. 65, following N. M. Kontoleon, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφημ.* 91 (1952) 32-57, and illustrating (pls. 67-72) other *Dichterweißen*, two perhaps Archilochus'.

³ For the possible depiction of this warrior poet's commissioning by the Muses and the heroized Orpheus at the site of the latter's oracle on Lesbos, see Margot Schmidt's "Ein neues Zeugnis zum Mythos vom Orpheushaupt," *AK* 15 (1972) 128-137, who illustrates (pls. 39-41) a red-figure calpis (ca. 440 B.C.) in Basel. Schmidt herself proposes (p. 132) as the poet receiving inspiration there Terpander, partly because he was born at Antissa, where by one account Orpheus' singing head floated ashore from Thrace (Antigonos Caryst., *Mir. Hist.* 5). The oracle, however, prophesied to Aeolians generally and to Ionians beyond (Philostr. *Her.* 5.3). Entirely plausible, then, is a tradition that it inspired Alcaeus of Lesbos, whose song is said by Horace (2.13.33-36) to hold the denizens of Hades spellbound, just as Orpheus' did according to Verg., *Geo.* 4.478-480.

⁴ K. J. McKay, "Pomp and Pastoralia in Theocritus' *Idyll* 7," *AUMLA* 44 (1975) 182.

⁵ "Die Kunstauffassung im VII. *Idyll* Theokrits und das Programm des Kallimachos," *Hermes* 94 (1966) 413-425. It is unclear whether Dover's interpretation (iv), which he ultimately favors (n.1, above, 150), and according to which "Lykidas is a symbol of the bucolic world" leaves room for the being who traditionally personified that world.

⁶ "Die Dichterbegegnung in Theokrits 'Thalysien,'" *Mus. Helv.* 17 (1960) 144-164.

⁷ "The Form of the 'Thalysia,'" in *Miscellanea . . . Rostagni* (1963) 291-307.

the sanctioning role is filled by a god in the guise of Lycidas, though *what* god he despairs of finding out.⁸

Frederick Williams alone has taken the final step of identifying the deity within this mysterious goatherd.⁹ He begins with the three obvious clues — the name Lycidas itself, his place of origin, and his destination — the same points of information, he notes, that a stranger was expected to provide in epic, except that there he might state the purpose rather than the goal of his journey. In what follows I shall adopt the same order as Williams for examining the evidence. But whereas for Williams the clues point to Apollo as the god presented in the guise of Lycidas, I hope to demonstrate that these indicators unite in identifying the goatherd as Pan, natural divine patron of bucolic poetry.

I

For Williams the very name Lycidas not only recalls Apollo's title *Λύκιος*, but is even formally equivalent to it.¹⁰ Assuming that "Lycidas" can suggest the epithet Lycius, let us examine where the clue leads. Williams asserts that Apollo was worshiped in Cos under the title of *Ἀπόλλων Λύκιος*,¹¹ and that both *Λύκιος* and "its by-form" *Λύκειος* connote "a specifically pastoral function of Apollo, the killing of wolves."¹² Thus the poet would have chosen the name Lycidas for Apollo pointedly enough. Yet both titles denote no more than "of or belonging to a wolf."¹³ In this sense neither is in principle restricted to association with Apollo, and in fact an Arcadian inscription (*IG* 5[2].93

⁸ "Zur Deutung von Theokrits Thalysien," *Mus. Helv.* 23 (1966) 186–189.

⁹ "A Theophany in Theocritus," *CQ* 21 (1971) 137–145.

¹⁰ The formal equivalence of the two should not be pressed in the light of Aitchison's and Whallon's more recent studies of the formula *μέγας Τελαμώνιος Αἴας* for Telamonian Ajax in Homeric epic. Both scholars (J. M. Aitchison, "Τελαμώνιος Αἴας and other Patronymics," *Glotta* 42 [1964] 132–138; William Whallon, "The Shield of Ajax," *YClS* 19 [1966] 26–28, 36) conclude independently that *Τελαμώνιος* was originally a descriptive epithet denoting the telamons of Ajax' great shield and sword (cf. *μέγας κορυθαίολος Ἔκτωρ*). Once this archaic battle equipment was thus misinterpreted, *Τελαμώνιος* inspired the other *-ιος* patronymics in Homer.

¹¹ Williams cites *R.E.* 11², col. 1478, where appeal is made in turn to S. Dibelius, *Quaestiones Coae Mythologiae*, diss. Greifswald (1891) 58 ff, which is unavailable to me and which L. R. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States* V (1909) fails to verify either at pp. 358–360 or at 446.

¹² N.9, above, p. 138.

¹³ R. P. Eckels, "Greek Wolf-Lore" (diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1937) 64 ff, would sharply distinguish the "wolfgod" (*Λύκειος*) from the "Lycian" (*Λύκιος*).

Tegea) attaches Λύκειος to the native god of Arcadia, Pan. Once the reader of Theocritus is oriented toward that god's aboriginal stronghold, the place-name that readily suggests itself is Λύκαιον, the Lycaean Mount which became the chief cult center of Arcadia in classical times. From this sacred district, where the Arcadian national games took place, both Pan and Zeus derived their epithet Λύκαιος, which in Pan's case stands foremost among his cult titles.¹⁴ Besides the cluster of place-names like Lycaenum, Lycoa, and Lycosura,¹⁵ Arcadian *personal* names containing the element Λυκ- include that of Lycaon, mythological king of the Arcadians.

But rather than deal further with terms that either echo or, according to Williams, formally equal Lycidas, it may prove more instructive to recall that the Greek Λυκίδας after all means "son or descendant of Wolf" (Lycus).¹⁶ Historical persons with names like Aristides or Euripides were seldom in fact descended from an Aristeus or a Euripus, nor does the tradition tell of Pan begotten by a Lycus. Yet of the four versions of Pan's genealogy apt to have been current by the fifth century B.C. at latest, all name as father a god or hero — Apollo, Zeus, Hermes, Odysseus — whose lupine links are strong.

With regard to Apollo, the English mythologists of an earlier generation may have overstated the case: Jane Harrison in writing that "Apollo Lykeios is the wolf god; at first the god is the animal itself, then its protector, then, as civilization advances, its slayer";¹⁷ L. R. Farnell in conjecturing "that the wolf was once revered in Greece, as the sacred animal of a wolf-tribe, and that Apollo Λύκειος . . . emerged from a tribal totem-cult."¹⁸ Yet in early Greek literature the wolf does lurk like an *éminence grise* behind the anthropomorphic Apollo. In the *Odyssey*, after twenty years' absence Odysseus makes his return fearfully apparent to the suitors, on whom he falls like a wolf, on the feast-day of Apollo. Disguised as a beggar, the hero had already predicted to Eumaeus

¹⁴ Theocritus' contemporary, Leonidas of Tarentum, is the first to call Pan "Lycaean" in preserved verse (*A.P.* 6.188). Vergil (*Aen.* 8.344) and Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1.32), alike specifying "Lycaean Pan" as the deity to whom the Lupercal at Rome was consecrated, imply that λύκος is to *Lycaeus* somewhat as *lupus* is to *Lupercus*. Cf. also Verg., *Geo.* 1.16–17: *ipse nemus linquens patrium saltusque Lycaeī / Pan . . .* See further, A. K. Michels, "The Topography and Interpretation of the Lupercalia," *TAPA* 84 (1953) 35–59, esp. p. 57.

¹⁵ For Pan's importance at Lycosura see Paus. 8.37.11; at his Lycaean sanctuary, Immerwahr (n.28, below) 193–195.

¹⁶ Or "of Lycius." Cf., e.g., Apollonides; "son of Apollonius."

¹⁷ *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens* (London 1890) 219 f. I owe this and the following citation to Eckels (n.13, above) 63.

¹⁸ *Cults of the Greek States* IV (1907) 116. A similar conclusion is reached by R. A. Tomlinson, *Argos and the Argolid* (1972) 205.

that his lord would come "this very *λυκάβας*" (14.161, cf. 19.306). Whatever the original meaning of this Greek word with its *λυκ*-element, D. J. N. Lee has convincingly interpreted it as signifying "the feast of Apollo."¹⁹ Turning to the *Iliad*, we find Apollo at Book 20.95 ff assuming the guise of Lycaon ("Wolfman" as Pape / Benseler render the name), and recall G. Lavoie's recent demonstration of the aptness of the human and animal forms in which the Homeric gods appear to mortals.²⁰ In the *Septem* Aeschylus played upon the meanings of *Λύκειος*: "Lycean lord, be a very wolf to the enemy," as L / S / J translate line 145, *Λύκει' ἄναξ, λύκειος γενοῦ στρατῶ δαίω*. And the list of wolf-Apollo ties in Greek literature could be extended.²¹

For examples from the sphere of classical realia a long series of Argive coins, stretching from the archaic period to about 146 B.C., bears on the reverse the figure of a wolf, often between the dolphins of Apollo, chief god of the city.²² Moreover, wolves were said to form an object of sacrifice to Apollo Lykeios at Argos (Schol. Soph. *Electra* 6). Though Eckels in his *Greek Wolf-Lore* found the scholiast's statement difficult to believe, he recognized that the same animal and bears as well are reported by Pausanias as offered in sacrifice at a festival that he personally witnessed in the second century A.D.²³ Finally, there are the relevant myths about Apollo which Servius (*ad Aen.* 4.377) cites to explain his epithet. These include the myth of Apollo's transformation into a wolf at the time of his union with the nymph Cyrene and, again, his assumption of the guise of a wolf at the slaying of the Telchines. To these the tradition attested in Aelian (10.26 — Apollo born to a Leto in wolf form)²⁴ and still others might be added.²⁵

¹⁹ "Homeric *λυκάβας* and Others," *Glotta* 40 (1962) 171. *Inter alia* Lee compares the month name Lykeios (Lykeos) in several local calendars. To be sure, on pp. 176-182 he argues for a *lyk*- "mouse" even before Apollo became a wolf god; and Hermann Koller, "*Λυκάβας*," *Glotta* 51 (1973) 29-34, defends the derivation from **lūk*- "light" anew.

²⁰ "Sur quelques métamorphoses divines dans l'Iliade," *AC* 39 (1970) 5-34, esp. 26-29.

²¹ Cf., e.g., W. E. Higgins, "Wolf-god Apollo in the *Oresteia*," *La Parola del Passato* 31 (1976) 201-205.

²² For a listing of fifty-four issues see T. Hackens, "Le monnayage en argent de la ville d'Argos," *Soc. Roy. de Num. de Belgique: Expo. Num.* (Brussels 1966) 19-21.

²³ The expressed reason for Eckels' doubt was the fact that when Pausanias names wolves and bears, both cubs and full-grown beasts, as sacrifices at Patras, he adds that the priestess of Artemis is there conveyed in a chariot drawn by deer.

²⁴ I. R. Danka in *Maeander* 26 (1971) 153-167 favors "born of a she-wolf" over "sire of the Lycians" as the meaning of Apollo's epithet *Λυκηγενής*.

²⁵ M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* (Handbuch der Alter-

Let us grant, then, that Apollo's wolfish links are as strong as Williams could wish. Yet the affiliation of Pan to Apollo may not after all have taken place in time to influence Theocritus. For, Timpanaro has shown that great confusion exists in the scholiastic tradition concerning which ancient authority said what about Pan's paternity, and that in any case the ascription to fifth-century Pindar of the god's birth to Apollo and Penelope, an ascription on which consensus had seemed almost attained, is contradicted by Servius Danielis (*ad Geo.* 1.16 f).²⁶

The claims of Zeus as father of Pan may therefore be no less venerable and worthy of consideration. A fragment (35, Nauck²) of Aeschylus in fact fathers one Pan upon Zeus himself and another upon Cronus of the previous divine generation. As if this were not enough, Epimenides (fr. 16, Diels⁵) had made Pan (and the mortal Arcas) the offspring of Zeus and Callisto. Since Callisto, according to a prevalent version of the myth, was daughter of Lycaon, and since Gow believes that Theocritus probably followed the myth as told by Epimenides,²⁷ our poet may well have considered Pan and Arcas twin sons of Zeus but also grandsons of Lycaon. That Theocritus thought of Arcas at least in terms of his descent from Lycaon is proved by his use of the patronymic form *Lycaonidas* at *Idyll* 1.126 to signify the mortal twin.

It may seem rash to broach the possibility that Theocritus could expect even his sophisticated audience to understand one patronymic form, *Lycaonidas*, for one of the Arcadian king's grandsons and a second form, *Lycidas*, for another. Yet Homer himself, whom we repeatedly find furnishing the model or inspiration for Theocritus, seemed to authorize such shortening. At *Il.* 13.307, for example, a son of Deucalion is addressed as *Deucalides*. Further, for sheer metrical convenience Homeric epic contains as many as *four* variant forms for "son of Peleus,"

tumswissenschaft V.2.1) I² (1955) 537, staunchly denied Apollo any original character as wolf god; yet doubts persist: see, e.g., R. A. Tomlinson, *Argos and the Argolid* (1972) 205.

²⁶ Sebastiano Timpanaro Jr., *Studi Urbinati* 31 (1957) 184-187, demonstrated — without denying the possibility, and in some cases the certainty, that Pindar was cited in other scholia for the Apollo-Penelope parentage — that Thilo had correctly restored *Mercurius* in Servius Dan.

It remains the case that "Lycidas" can be read as "son of <Apollo> Λύκιος" (cf. Apollonides, "son of Apollonius"). This interpretation of our "goatherd's" name is the more welcome as it would imply that Williams (n.9, above, p. 144) has traced "Lycidas" in the right bloodline, as it were, if not to the right generation, and has correctly identified an allusion to *Aetia* I, fr. 1.22 in Theocritus' choice of the patronymic "Lycidas."

²⁷ A. S. F. Gow, *Theocritus* II²: Comm. (1952) 26, *ad Id.* 1.125, where he cites the scholion on 1.3 and compares that on Eur. *Rhes.* 36.

and uses them all, moreover, for the single hero Achilles, not — as here proposed — for separate personalities as widely divergent as Pan and Arcas.

The Homeric nomenclature for Achilles holds additional interest for us, since in seventeen cases the patronymic *Aeacides*, built on the name of Achilles' mortal grandfather Aeacus, is substituted for the hero's own name (cf. Alcides for Heracles). Gow's explanation of *Lycaonidas* as derived from the grandfather "with the more reason since Arcas' father was Zeus and his mother unmarried," applies equally of course to *Lycidas* for Arcas' twin brother, Pan.

If Pan's descent from Zeus and Callisto is the version to be attributed to Theocritus, the foregoing might well be thought to account for the name Lycidas even without resort to the Greek legends of werewolves that centered on the Lycaean mount,²⁸ to the tradition known already to Plato and, apparently, Theophrastus that he who tastes of the human entrails minced up with those of other victims at the shrine of Lycaean Zeus in Arcadia turns into a wolf, and to the versions of the Lycaon myth according to which Zeus transforms that ill-fated figure into a wolf because of his or his sons' impiety. For my part, I accept the conclusion of Nilsson that the epithet *Λυκαῖος*, derived as it was from the place-name, tells nothing in favor of Zeus as wolf god.²⁹

Accordingly, we may turn now to the sole remaining genealogy of Pan that is demonstrably traceable to the fifth century B.C. Though Herodotus is the earliest certain authority who calls *Hermes* and Penelope the progenitors of Pan, this version of the god's parentage became thereafter the favorite one.³⁰ It may even be assimilated to the account of Pan's birth in the so-called Homeric *Hymn to Pan*, which one can readily imagine Theocritus relishing and learning by heart since it is, as Evelyn-White observed, "beyond most works of Greek literature . . . remarkable for its fresh and spontaneous love of wild natural scenes."³¹ In this *Hymn* Hermes' infatuation for, and his fruitful union with, the *νύμφη* of Dryops is related. Whether Hermes' consort is *daughter* of Dryops

²⁸ See, for this entire complex of myth and lore, Giulia Piccaluga, *Lycaon* (1968), whose inquiry is speculative but thought-provoking; W. Immerwahr, *Die Kulte und Mythen Arkadiens* (1891) 10; Eckels (n.13, above), who may overrate the mountaineer's impulse to *épater les bourgeois*; and Sir J. G. Frazer, *Apollodorus* (Loeb Classical Library, 1921) 390–393, who is more inclined to give the wolf his due.

²⁹ N.25, above, 398–400.

³⁰ The same that, perhaps significantly, Plato was to follow in the *Phaedrus*, a dialogue to whose influence on Theocritus (n.164, below) is addressed.

³¹ H. G. Evelyn-White, *Hesiod, The Homeric Hymns and Homerica* (Loeb Classical Library, 1914) xxxix.

as is usually but doubtfully rendered here, or *young wife*, as Schwabl has recently argued anew,³² her name is omitted. The crucial point to note may be the fact that the presence of Dryops in this genealogy either as putative father or as grandfather of Pan makes Lycaon again head of the clan from which the god is descended, since Dryops is said to be a son of the Arcadian king.³³ So again the designation "Lycidas" (descendant of the Wolfman) would fit Pan, much as "Alcides" (descendant of Alcaeus through his putative father, Amphitryon) served as patronymic for Heracles, whose natural father was Zeus.

Whatever the original identity of Penelope who bore Pan, the context in Herodotus shows that the historian equated her with the wife of Odysseus. Frank Brommer in his excellent monograph on Pan supposes that an Arcadian nymph of the same name suffered conflation with the Homeric Penelope.³⁴ Undeniably, the danger of such confusion of local nymph with epic heroine would have arisen, and the above presentation of the pedigree elliptically set forth in the *Hymn to Pan* is intended to suggest a possible stage in the process of *contaminatio*. But on the one hand Penelope is nowhere distinguished from her epic counterpart among the no fewer than eighteen versions of Pan's pedigree listed in Roscher's *Lexikon* (III [1909] 1379-80), while the actual names of several nymphs (e.g., Orsinoe in schol. *ad Eur. Rhes.* 36) crop up in the rich tradition of Pan's birth. On the other hand Penelope figures by no means solely with Hermes as her mate in these pedigrees. I earlier touched on the scholiastic evidence for Pan conceived by Penelope in union with *Apollō*. Almost inevitably versions arose according to which Antinous, Amphinomus, or even the suitors all together (πάντες) begot Pan by Penelope during Odysseus' long absence. Not that her motherhood necessarily involved infidelity towards her husband: the first Vatican Mythographer stipulates (89) that Mercury's union with Penelope took place after Odysseus' death, and that their son was born near Arcadian Tegea, whence Pan's title "Tegean."

Finally, Odysseus himself by at least one account was said to have fathered our multilinear godling. Euphorion is thought to have authored the literary version of this pedigree, which would therefore have come too late to influence Theocritus in his choice of by-name for Pan.³⁵ But

³² Hans Schwabl, "Der homerische Hymnus auf Pan," *WS* 3 (1969) 12, n.19.

³³ Schol. Ap. Rhod. *ad Arg.* 1.1218, 1283.

³⁴ *R.E.* Suppl. 8, col. 952, ll. 10-11 and 52-54; earlier scholars similarly: *R.E.* 37, col. 479, ll. 32-39.

³⁵ It might be argued, however, that the begetting of Pan by all the suitors logically and perhaps historically followed the version in which Odysseus figured as father. Since Tzetzes (*ad Lyc.* 772) records that already Duris of

even if the possibility that Penelope and Odysseus are both ultimately "faded deities" of Arcadia has been exaggerated, their deep roots in Arcadian local myths forbid us to ignore the lupine connections also of the hero of the *Odyssey*.³⁶

It is in the nineteenth book (399-409) that Homer tells how Odysseus' grandfather had named the infant "Odysseus" (as if to echo πολλοῖσιν . . . ὀδυσσύμενος, "hateful to many" or "angered with many"). But as G. M. Bolling, followed by Rhys Carpenter, noted,³⁷ a Greek grandfather is wont to name the eldest grandson for himself. Accordingly, since in every dialect but the Homeric an *l* sound replaces the *d* of "Odysseus" (e.g., Aeolic Ὀλισσεύς), since the double *s* (or, in Attic, double *t*) should represent an original *k*, and since the termination -εύς was much used in the heroic period for the formation of short names, Bolling concluded that Ὀλυσσεύς is the short form of a dedicatory name derived from Ἀυτόλυκος — that is to say, from the name of Odysseus' maternal grandfather! Though he felt a difficulty in the presence of the initial *o* in "Odysseus," Bolling did suggest plausible ways of explaining this vowel, which he took to be part of the first element of Ἀυτόλυκος clinging to the second. He might also have borrowed a leaf from Wilamowitz,³⁸ who interpreted the initial *o* as a prothetic vowel.³⁹ Though neither scholar explained the etymology of "Odysseus" on the basis of the transparent meaning of "Autolycus" — "Very-wolf," to wit — Bolling's conclusion that *Od.* 19.407 f "may then be considered as perhaps the last obscure echo of a tradition of a connection between the names Odysseus and Autolycus" is the more weighty as he had no special axe to grind.

In any event it should suffice to justify the thesis that Odysseus, his "very-wolfish" ancestor, or both could account for our poet's

Samos made the suitors responsible, and Duris surely wrote before Euphoriion, the latter may only have been the first to give *literary* currency to the version wherein Odysseus fathered Pan.

³⁶ Ernst Wüst, for example, cited the "unumstösslicher Beweis für das hohe Alter und die tiefe Verwurzelung der Sage von Pans Mutter P. in Arkadien" in his article *s.v.* "Penelope" in *R.E.* 37, cols. 479 and 480, ll. 32-34; in his companion article *s.v.* "Odysseus" (*R.E.* 34, cols. 1910-11) he examined the traces, numerous above all in Arcadia (as in Penelope's case; *R.E.* 37, cols. 463-466), of divine honors accorded Odysseus in the prehistoric period.

³⁷ Bolling, "The Etymology of Ὀδυσσεύς," *AJP* 27 (1906) 66; Carpenter, *Folk Tale, Fiction and Saga in the Homeric Epics* (1946) 131.

³⁸ U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Homerische Untersuchungen* (1884) 18, n.6; cf. *R.E.* 17, col. 1909, ll. 27-33 *s.v.* "Odysseus (Name)."

³⁹ On α, ε, and ο sometimes prefixed to λ, μ, ν, ρ, *digamma* see W. F. Wyatt, *The Greek Prothetic Vowel* (1972).

applying the title "Lycidas" to their descendant Pan. It will be noticed that I have made here no use of the *Syrinx*, that riddling pattern-poem ascribed both internally and externally to Theocritus. In the first place its actual authorship by him has often been denied; in the second place the riddler, whoever he was, signified that Odysseus was Pan's father neither by the phrase "bedfellow of Nobody" nor by the difficult ἀπάτωρ, which Edmonds took as an allusion to Odysseus' famed *Kasename*, "Nobody."⁴⁰

The father of Pan whom all unravelers of the *Syrinx* since the time of the Greek scholiast seem to agree that its author adumbrated by means of his κλωποπάτωρ, "son of a thief," is Hermes. How his inclusion in the most favored genealogy of Pan can be squared with "Lycidas" as the god's by-name I hope to have indicated sufficiently. It may seem odd that I have not stressed the wolf's stealthy stalking of its prey as a theriomorphic model for cattle-rustling Hermes.⁴¹ But when Norman Brown in his brief but substantial *Hermes the Thief* wished to suggest a more recent counterpart to the pagan patron saint of all craft,⁴² it was to Reynard the *Fox* that he turned.

Perhaps it was a similar feeling that the wolf presented too formidable, even grisly, an aspect to fit the most φιλόανθρωπος of gods that guided the Greeks in general, and that led Theocritus himself to adopt into literature, for the first time, seemingly, the precise form *Lycidas*.⁴³ Pan could thus be provided with a by-name appropriate to him in his own right, not merely with a suitable patronymic. For the Doric ending in -ίδας⁴⁴ is identical in orthography and metrics with the nickname Λυκιδᾶς created by substituting the favored hypocoristic suffix -ᾶς in names with certain endings, including those in -εύς, as in *Λυκιδεύς.

⁴⁰ Better taken as "fatherless" in the sense that all Arcadians, born of the oaktree, are "without fathers": so R. Merkelbach and M. L. West, "The Wedding of Ceyx," *RhM* 108 (1965) 314.

⁴¹ Dolon, indeed, whose very name denotes cunning, significantly dons wolfskin guise when he fares forth on his ill-fated reconnoitering by night in *Iliad* Book 10. Other lupine elements in the tradition of that Trojan warrior led L. Gernet to publish "Dolon le Loup" in *Annuaire de l'Inst. de Phil. et d'Hist. Orient. et Slaves* 4 (1936) (Mélanges Fr. Cumont) 189-208.

⁴² (1947) 73 and 82.

⁴³ A few historical occurrences of the name are earlier attested: Herodotus 9.5; Demosthenes 20.131-133, 53.14.

⁴⁴ Actually current in Coan names, as witness "Nestoridas" and "Phileonides" among the limited number of fourth-century magistrates known through coin legends: *Syll. Numm. Gr. Deut.* (Samml. v. Aulock, 1962) no. 2748 = Kraay / Hirmer, *Greek Coins* (1966) no. 640; and B. V. Head, *Cat. of the Gk. Coins of Caria, Cos, Rhodes &c* (1897) 194, no. 10. Examples could be multiplied by resort to Paton / Hicks, *The Inscriptions of Cos* (1891) Index I.

In short, I am suggesting with conscious temerity that "Lycidas" here is to be heard not, or not only, as the patronymic *Λυκίδας*, *Wolfson*, but as the hypocoristic *Λυκιδᾶς*, *Wolfkin*.

Remarkably enough, *λυκιδεύς* as a common noun meaning *wolfcub* is first attested in Theocritus.⁴⁵ Specifically, in *Idyll* 5 (and with only the brief sixth *Idyll* intervening in the received arrangement), the poet introduces the common noun *λυκιδεύς*, deliberately it may be, to prepare the ground for our encounter with "Lycidas" in the seventh. Many other names signifying the young of various animals and ending thus in *-ιδεύς* might be instanced,⁴⁶ but only one of these occurs in serious poetry apart from Theocritus', a point that may tell in favor of our poet's ulterior purpose in employing *λυκιδεύς* in *Idyll* 5, where in fact it seems intrusive into an older proverb, and so calls attention to itself.

Now in the *sermo amatorius* of Hellenistic poetry Pan would have been characterized as a "young wolf" as freely as his mortal votaries are in current American slang. Everything we learn about the amorous inclinations of Lycidas in *Idyll* 7, and about Pan throughout the Theocritean corpus as well as in classical literature generally, tallies with the definitions of the word *wolf* in its slang usage today. Between publication of *Webster's Second New International Dictionary* and that of its new edition, *wolf* meaning "a man forward, direct, and zealous in amatory attentions to women" but also one so disposed towards those of his own sex,⁴⁷ had been accorded a recognition beyond the transitory fame of dictionaries of slang. But, to look no further, a series of contributions to *American Speech* traces these connotations to sources at least as early as the sixteenth century.⁴⁸ In the case of Perrault's *Petit Chaperon Rouge* we have the appended Moralité guaranteeing the essential fidelity of Bret Harte's poem, "What the Wolf Really Said to Little Red Riding-Hood," to the original literary version of a still older folktale.⁴⁹ The currency of the story in France long before the Grimm brothers gave it its now familiar twist may account for the expression "avoir vu le loup," which like "to see a wolf" means "to be seduced," though the English idiom also signifies "to lose one's voice."

⁴⁵ It is by no means clear that the *λυκιδεύς* at Plut. *Sol.* 23.3 represents the *ipsissimum verbum* of Solon.

⁴⁶ Fourteen more may be gathered from Gow, *Theocritus* II² (1952) 297-298 ad 15.121; he also notes the single example from epic.

⁴⁷ See definitions 4 and 5 s.v. "wolf" in the Third Edition (1961).

⁴⁸ In vol. 24 (1949) 154. G. Legman cited Sir William Knollys' use of the wolf-and-lamb imagery in 1595. J. H. Wildman (vol. 20 [1945] 231) had anticipated one of his later illustrations, from Thackeray's *Vanity Fair*; and W. L. McAtee (vol. 25 [1950] 267) added the *testimonia* from Perrault and Harte.

⁴⁹ So *Contes de Perrault*, ed. G. Rouger (1967) 112.

Now both these idiomatic meanings perfectly suit the context of the question "Have you seen a wolf?" in Theocritus' *Idyll* 14. Theocritus' choice there of the name "Cynisca" meaning "Little Bitch" (though with fewer pejorative undertones in Greek) demonstrates his penchant for "speaking names" for his characters,⁵⁰ while the poet's elaborate play on the connotations of Lycus' name in *Idyll* 14 tends to confirm his fully conscious intent in applying the nickname "Lycidas" to Pan. Again, not only do the actions there of "Cynisca's Wolf" furnish ancient precedent for the English verb *wolf* in its slang sense "steal another's girl,"⁵¹ but the ditty ("That wolf of mine") mentioned in the same poem seems even to have a Gallic ring, since "mon petit loup" means simply "my darling, my pet." In any case, the Hellenic wolf remotely if at all shares kinship with Fenrir and the other lupine monsters of North European myth and story.

For the rest, Georg Luck in "Kids and Wolves"⁵² has traced the other sexual connotations of λύκος from Plato down to Fronto, and in so doing has much reduced the chronological distance from Theocritean to Elizabethan "wolves."⁵³ Luck's interpretation in effect illustrates the perfect aptness of "Lycidas" both as "speaking name" for the seventh *Idyll*'s mysterious goatherd, whose own song discloses his bisexual interests, and also as nickname of Pan, whose pan-erotic drive is partly a function of his role as agent of the Great Goddess.

Here the case that the name Lycidas in *Idyll* 7 may properly point to Pan must rest. That I have sought to establish the possibility by multiple lines of argument results from the god's extraordinary wealth of pedigrees (themselves the product of his original isolation from the great Olympians amid the mountain valleys of his homeland, where each cult center was free to elaborate its own version of Pan's parentage), as well as from the suitability to Pan of "Lycidas" as a hypocoristic signifying "Wolfkin." At all events no other word of such multivalent import remains to be discussed, though the dual relevance of a given word, at a connotative as well as at a denotative level, will prove characteristic of Theocritus' further identification of Lycidas through his place of origin and his destination.

⁵⁰ For further preoccupation (on the jilted lover's part at least) with animal imagery see Alan Griffith's note on *Id.* 14.26, in *CQ* 22 (1972) 102-106 *ad fin.*

⁵¹ L. V. Berrey and M. Van Den Bark, *The American Thesaurus of Slang* (1942) 847.9.

⁵² Georg Luck, "Kids and Wolves, a Study of Callimachus, Fragment 202. 69-70 (Pf.)," *CQ* 9 (1959) 34-37; by citing *A.P.* 11.51 the author himself provides the best check on his interpretation of "kids."

⁵³ The question whether the similar use of lupine imagery in classical verse and modern slang indicates a historical connection or merely similarity of mentality between the two must, I think, remain open.

II

"We came upon a Cydonian man," *Κυδωνικὸν εὖρομεν ἄνδρα* (7.12):⁵⁴ as Williams remarks, this clause has baffled the commentators, for whom "there is no obvious reason why a goatherd from any known Cydonia should be wandering in the by-ways of Cos." But by far the most important of these Cydonias was the one on Crete, whose modern capital Chania overlies the ancient town-site; so Williams proposes to seek the solution there, and finds it in Stephanus of Byzantium's entry under *Κυδωνία*: "polis of Crete, formerly Apollonia; from Cydon son of Apollo and Minos' daughter Acacallis; second, a polis of Sicily; third, of Libya. The male citizen is called Cydoniate, Cydon, Cydonian, Cydonaeon, . . . and *Κυδωνικὸς ἄνθρωπος*," this last, surely, straight out of *Idyll* 7.

Undoubtedly Apollo enjoyed cult in this third most notable polity of classical Crete. But though Williams in support of his thesis cites the wreathed head of Apollo on Cydonian coins,⁵⁵ other gods and goddesses appear more often as coin-types there;⁵⁶ understandably, he overlooks the potential importance of Pan on some Cydonian reverses.⁵⁷ Williams does, however, recognize as probably mistaken⁵⁸ the late antique testimony of Stephanus, who alleged that Cydonia's former name was Apollonia.

What the proponent of an Apolline connection in the phrase *Κυδωνικὸς ἄνθρωπος* must chiefly rely on is the tradition that Carl Wendel traced to Alexander Polyhistor,⁵⁹ according to which the city-state's name is derived from that of Cydon, son of the nymph Acacallis and a god. Awkwardly enough, the divine father given by the same *Argonautica*-scholion (*ad* 4.1492) that specifies Alexander Polyhistor as its authority is *Hermes*, not Apollo as in Stephanus' entry (which is by Wendel's accounting somewhat garbled).

The Cretan version, in whatever variant, was matched, as Pausanias (8.53.4f) informs us, by an *Arcadian* descent for Cydon from grandfather Lycaon through father Tegeates, eponymous ruler of Tegea. From that Arcadian town Cydon and others are said to have migrated

⁵⁴ Except as otherwise indicated, the Greek and English of Theocritus' *Idylls* are excerpted from A. S. F. Gow, *Theocritus* I²: Introduction, Text and Translation (1952).

⁵⁵ N.9, above, p. 139, n.6.

⁵⁶ Prehn, *s.v.* "Kydonia" in *R.E.* 11² (1922) 2306, lists Dionysus, Athena, and Dictynna (Britomartis) ahead of Apollo.

⁵⁷ For illustration see *Syll. Numm. Graec.* 3 (1938) pl. XLIV, no. 2550.

⁵⁸ As M. Guarducci, *Inscriptiones Creticae*, II (1939) 105, holds.

⁵⁹ *Überlieferung und Entstehung der Theokrit-Scholien* (Abh. d. Gött. Ges. d. Wiss. 17.2 [1920]) 129.

to Crete, where they established new foundations, including Cydonia. Whatever the worth of this myth connecting Cydonia and Arcadian Tegea (whence Pan Tegeates), the cultic links of Crete with Arcadia are undeniable.⁶⁰ To document these is not part of my purpose here, except for one item scarcely available to Williams. In 1969 K. Davaras published evidence⁶¹ that the great cave of Lera on the Cynosura⁶² peninsula just east of Cydonia was sacred to Pan and the Nymphs. For in this cavern, two years previously, he had excavated Attic black-glaze potsherds inscribed with dedications to these rustic divinities. Their common worship in grottoes is not surprising since no haunts were more favored by them; but the earliness of the inscriptional evidence for it, perhaps the earliest of any so far retrieved, is surprising.

Nevertheless, though I hope to have shown that Apollo's connections with Cydonia are weaker, while Pan's are stronger, than have been supposed, I submit that the overriding reason for Theocritus' choice of *Κυδωνικός* as *ethnic* may have lain not in any cultic reference but in a canting one. To return to the coinage of Cydonia, one reverse type depicts Cydon armed with a bow and accompanied by a dog; another reverse type again presents a dog, but this time female and suckling a baby boy. Fortunately we need not determine here the identity of the infant⁶³ whose portrayal on Cydonian coinage provided a Roman mint master with the direct typological model for his representation of the she-wolf nursing Romulus and Remus.⁶⁴ Enough for present purposes to win acceptance of Jakob Pley's conclusion⁶⁵ that the dog, the *κύων*, on coins of Cydonia formed a canting-badger of the state whose abbreviated ethnic *KYΔΩΝ* appeared on the exergue.⁶⁶

But while granting the freedom of Greek puns, one may well inquire why the poet wished to characterize Pan by an ethnic that suggests, since the suffix *-ικός* denotes relation, "a man with the characteristics

⁶⁰ See Pley (n.65, below), who cites further evidence in O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie* I (Handbuch der klass. Altertumswiss., 1906) 194-195.

⁶¹ In *Αρχ.Δελτ.* 22 (1967 [publ. 1969]) 495 and 497, pls. 369a and β.

⁶² For the name see Paul Faure, "Nouvelles recherches de spéléologie et de topographie crétoises," *BCH* 84 (1960) 210 and 214.

⁶³ M. P. Nilsson (n.25, above), 321, and Paul Faure (n.61, above), 210, n.2, see in the infant Zeus Cretagenes rather than Cydon.

⁶⁴ This motif-borrowing for the first silver coinage minted at Rome itself has been previously argued by Cécile Dulière, "A propos des monnaies de Kydonia," *Hommages à Marcel Renard* 3 (Collection Latomus 103 [1969]) 203-209.

⁶⁵ Jakob Pley, *R.E.* 11² (1922) s.v. "Kydon. 1)," col. 2305.

⁶⁶ Coins like that illustrated in *Syll. Numm. Graec.* 3 (1938) no. 2550, which depicts a youthful head of Pan on obverse and a seated hound beneath *KY* on reverse, may provide the most telling variant of all.

of a κύων." Earlier, in touching on Pan's role as "agent of the Great Goddess," I was translating — without acknowledging — the Pindaric phrase, μεγάλας/θεοῦ κύων (fr. 96), wherein κύων serves as frequently in mythology (according to LSJ s.v. κύων, III) to designate "servants, agents, or watchers of the gods." I submit that Theocritus echoes this usage in Pindar, whose *Hymn to Pan* seems to have received much — though misdirected — scrutiny by Alexandrian biographers intent on finding personal reminiscence in the great lyric poet.⁶⁷ If so, we may gain further insight on the force of κύων as applied to Pan by noting that, in other verses addressed to the god, Pindar calls him φύλαξ (fr. 95.2) and especially ὁπαδός (fr. 95.3) — not unreasonably if the name "Pan" itself should prove to be descended from ὁπάων.⁶⁸ This etymology for Pan makes the god originally "Companion" to his shepherd votaries and "Guardian" to their flocks, in a literal sense ὁπάονα μῆλων as Pindar called Pan's close congener Aristaeus (*Pyth.* 9.66b). At the same time, the case for regarding Pan as κυνικός is not solely dependent on the correctness of this etymology; if not verbally and from the outset, then functionally and from the time Pindar termed him "κύων of the Great Goddess," Pan could be seen as a fellow with traits of the Arcadian herdsman's Best Friend, and called (by a pun like the Cydonian canting-badge's) Κυδωνικός ἀνήρ.

To some it may seem that so far the chief metaphorical possibilities in Κυδωνικός have been overlooked. The Greek for "quince" is μῆλον Κυδώνιον, or simply τὰ Κυδώνια,⁶⁹ and Κυδωνικὸν . . . ἄνδρα might therefore be rendered "a Quincy chap." If the phrase were thought to allude

⁶⁷ W. J. Slater, "Pindar's House," *GRBS* 12 (1971) 141–152, *contra*, e.g., Alexander Turyn, *Pindari Carmina* (1952) 313, *comm.* on fr. 110 (95) *ad fin.* At *P.* 3.77–79, I submit, after Pindar has regretted that he cannot bring Hieron both health and praise, he determines to do what he *can* by invoking (for inspiration as at *Pae.* 6.56?) "the Mother whose daughters . . . along with Pan often celebrate her by night, august goddess <that she is>": ἀλλ' ἐπεύξασθαι μὲν ἐγὼν ἐθέλω/Ματρί, τὰν κοῦραι παρ' ἐμὸν πρόθυρον σὺν Πανὶ μέλπονται θαμὰ/σεμνὰν θεὸν ἐννύχαι. That Pindar should link Pan with the Muses thus I. Cazzaniga has prepared the way for us to appreciate, in *PP* 33 (1978) 338–346; that the poet could expect his hearers to recognize in Ματρί the mother of poets and unique Mother of Nine, and in κοῦραι her daughters, *N.* 3.1, ὦ πότνια Μοῖσα, μᾶτερ ἀμετέρα, λίσσομαι; *I.* 6.74–75, Δίρκας ἀγνὸν ὕδωρ, τὸ βαθύζωνοι κόραι/χρυσοπέπλου Μναμοσύνας ἀνέτειλαν, and *Pae.* 7b.15–16, ἐ[πεύχο[μαι] . . ./Μναμ[ο]σύ[ν]α κόραισι τ' alike attest.

⁶⁸ Elsewhere indeed I have sought to reconstruct a series of linguistic events leading from the earliest inferred form of this word, *hOq^wawōn*, through Ὀπάων in the god's classical homeland, Arcadia, to the eventual deglutinated and contracted form 'Pan'; cf. "The Divine Name 'Pan,'" *TAPA* 107 (1977) 57–61.

⁶⁹ *Pace* Konrad Ziegler in *Die Kleine Pauly* 4 (1972) col. 1316 s.v. "Quitte."

to the fruit itself, the quince's pungent fragrance, its villous skin, its ripe hardness, its tart astringency could each make some claim to suggest a distinctive trait or quality of Pan.

But when Theocritus (*Idyll* 10.45) with *σύκινοι ἄνδρες* draws on proverbial expressions likening men or objects to the cultivated *fig*, it is the tree's wood, not its fruit, in which editors agree on finding the point of comparison. The proverbs cited by Gow *ad* 10.45 bear out the Hesychian entry *σύκινον· ἄσθενές*, and Hesychius' corresponding interpretation of *κυδωνικόν* might be expected to shed light equally on our passage.⁷⁰ But in contrast to the single connotation "weak," the very multiplicity of meanings offered at *κυδωνικόν· μέγα καὶ ἀξιόλογον, ἡ ἀπατηλόν, δόλιον, λοῖδορον*, raises doubts that any of the five, even if based on passages like Theocritus', results from genuine understanding. Yet this cluster of metaphoric explanations may reflect some inkling that there is more to our *Κυδωνικόν* than its literal, gentle use, especially as the form is otherwise attested only in Stephanus, where it is listed last among the five *ethnica s.v. Κυδωνία*.

III

Before any still latent connotations of *Κυδωνικόν* . . . ἄνδρα are elicited (later, in the full context of the phrase), an examination is in order of what for Williams himself is the conclusive link between Lycidas and Apollo: the very last words devoted to Simichidas' encounter with the "goatherd." (That it is his private personal experience, unshared by the two friends accompanying him, others, I think, have persuasively argued. From the moment of Lycidas' sudden appearance till that of his carefully signaled turn-off on the road to Pyxa, Simichidas' companions remain totally absent from the dialogue and narrative of the poem's entire central core, only to come again into the account the instant Lycidas vanishes from it.)

It is the clause reserved for the very close of the encounter that in Williams' view connects Apollo with the actual setting of the poem: *τὰν ἐπὶ Πύξας / εἶρ' ὁδόν* (7.130-131) or "took the road to Pyxa," as Gow translates. Williams finds the skepticism of Paton and Hicks⁷¹ about the scholion to this verse unjustified and superseded by evidence which R. Herzog was later to publish.⁷² Yet though Herzog's index lists *Ἀπόλλων φύξιος* (20.44), the text references provide no inscriptional

⁷⁰ A. S. F. Gow, n.27, above, p. 205.

⁷¹ *CR* 2 (1888) 213.

⁷² *Heilige Gesetze von Kos* (*Abh. Pr. Akad. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Kl.*, 1928, Nr. 6) pp. 17, 20, 44, 54.

support for the scholiast's word that, according to "some," Pyxa is a place possessing a shrine (? ἱερόν) of Apollo and so conferring on him the epithet "Pyxius."⁷³ The sadly broken sacred calendar found by Zarraftis and cited by Herzog does indeed include a sacrifice to "Phyxius" among its surviving entries, but nothing on the stone limits the epithet to Apollo.⁷⁴ Another and neglected scholion to *Idyll* 7.130, on the contrary, explicitly links the title to Pan as well.⁷⁵

For the cult of Pan on Cos the archaeological record is now sizeable and growing. Since Doro Levi excavated the cave of Pan at Aspripetra and in 1929 published the best preserved and most important figurines (including standing and seated terracottas of Pan) found in the sanctuary there,⁷⁶ the most exciting finds have been made within the past few years. Two inscribed reliefs, one of them very fine and dated to the turn of the fifth to fourth century B.C., the other less skillfully worked but close to our *Idyll* in date,⁷⁷ represent the Graces in one case as dancing around an altar and attended by Pan in person, in the other as standing in the presence of the god's cult-herm.⁷⁸ Mesaria, the find-spot of these reliefs, lies about four miles west of the Coan capital and right athwart the route of our holiday hikers — possibly at the very point (τὰν μεσάταν ὁδόν) where "by the Muses' grace" they came upon Lycidas.

Thus far I hope to have satisfied Williams' demand that the choice of Lycidas' destination should be symbolically right in its cult associa-

⁷³ οἱ μὲν τὸν ἐν Κῶ δῆμον· οἱ δὲ τόπον ἐν ᾧ ἱερόν Ἀπόλλωνος, ᾧ οὐ Πύξιος λέγεται (Wendel, n.59 above, p. 109).

⁷⁴ By contrast, the entries for "Smintheus" and "Apollo Horomedon" might be thought to satisfy the requirements of Apollo cult relatively well.

⁷⁵ N.79, below.

⁷⁶ "La grotta di Aspripetra a Co," *Annuario della R. Scuola Arch. di Atene* 8-9 (1929) 253-254 and figs. 15-16. R. A. Higgins, *Greek Terracottas* (1967) 68, dates the best of these figurines "around the mid fourth century." On p. 143 he gives further bibliography of Coan terracottas, not all of it accessible to me, but including S. Mollard-Berques, *Musée Nat. du Louvre: Cat. raisonné des figs. et reliefs en t.c. grecs*, . . . 1 (1954), esp. B189 (pl. XXIV). For other Pan figures on Cos see Luciano Laurenzi, "Sculture inedite del Museo di Co," *Ann. della Scuola Arch. di Atene* 33-34 (1955-56) 86, no. 29 and 133, n.163; for a Pan relief, P. Schazmann and R. Herzog, *Kos, I: Asklepieion* (1932) 55.

⁷⁷ For an improved reading of the metrical inscription on the earlier relief, and for further bibliography on the associated temenos of the Graces, see J. Bousquet, "Le sanctuaire des Charites à Cos," *ZPE* 7 (1971) 279. For illustrations of both reliefs, *BCH* 94 (1970) figs. 545a and b.

⁷⁸ For the role of the Panherm as cult statue in rustic shrines where the god, along with the Nymphs, was honored, see Roscher, *Lexikon*, s.v. "Pan," 1420 and 1462.

tions, and to have added a suitably cultic point of departure. Still, the great increase since Farnell's time⁷⁹ of evidence for Pan's presence on the island has not been accompanied by proof that Pan actually received public worship at Pyxa, whose location in any case has yet to be certainly pinpointed.⁸⁰ I am therefore inclined to suspect that Theocritus' final words concerning Lycidas do more to characterize him than the bare mention of an obscure Coan town with an externally unconfirmed Pan cult could do.⁸¹

In short, I propose to read Πύξας not, or not solely, as genitive singular of a proper noun but as an accusative plural of the common noun: "He sped his way to the boxwoods," in the sense "to the tune or accompaniment of boxwoods." For this translation, first, I am assuming that, by using accusative plural πύξας for the musical instrument, Theocritus was distinguishing it from "boxwood,"⁸² the plant species, or was, as it were, adjusting the ending to fit the feminine gender of the Greek word, somewhat as Theophrastus (*HP* 4.4.6) writes ἐβένη⁸³ for "ebony," though elsewhere it is regularly ἡ ἔβενος.⁸⁴ Second, I am assuming that the Doric form ποτί should be restored. In this bucolic idyll ποτί would

⁷⁹ L. R. Farnell (n.11, above), 467, cites the ancient *testimonia*, in a brief note (178): "Schol. Theokr. 7.130 ἡ Πύξα ὄνομα πόλεως, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ Πύξιος Ἀπόλλων καὶ Πάν. Bull. Corr. Hell. 1881, p. 199 Γνατία Σέκονδα τὸν Πᾶνα τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ἰππατίων ἀνέθηκε." Since the Theocritean scholia betray no suspicion of a Lycidas / Pan equation, we need not wonder whether the scholiast is merely deducing a Pan Pyxius from the internal evidence of 7.130.

⁸⁰ The village of Asphendiou is usually proposed as its present-day successor (see Gow, n.27, above, 163 *ad* 7.130); but the question where this ancient Coan deme center lay is still *sub iudice*: witness S. M. Sherwin-White, *Ancient Cos* (Hypomnemata 51, 1978) 59, whose historical study came to hand belatedly.

⁸¹ The fact that the place name, either Φύξα or Φυξαί, appears to have been spelled with Φ (epigraphical evidence being so far confined to Φυξιώται for the demesmen and Φύξιος for the cult title), strongly supports the view that Theocritus had ulterior motives in introducing the variant Πύξας here; cf. *R.E.* 11² s.v. "Kos," col. 1473.43 and 1474.30, and *R.E.* 24 s.v. "Pyxa(i)," col. 619. This possibility was already suspected by Wilamowitz, *Hellenistische Dichtung* II (1924) 138, as I am reminded by W. G. Arnott, "The Mound of Brasilas in Theocritus' Seventh *Idyll*," *QUCC* 32 (1979) 102, n.8, an article drawn to my attention by Richard Janko. I am especially indebted to him and to Paul Waring, who noticed the word play in οὔνομα μὲν Λυκίδαν, ἧς δ' αἰπόλος (7.13), for their constructive criticism when I presented a truncated version of this paper in the Cambridge Greek Seminar.

⁸² "Theocritean dialect" would call for πύξως (or πύξος!) as the acc. pl. of ἡ πύξος.

⁸³ Has an original ἐβένη at *Id.* 15.123 been regularized to ἔβενος at the expense of meter?

⁸⁴ Other variations for a given word occur in Theophrastean manuscripts — e.g., ἀνηγτος at *HP* 9.7.3 for ἀνηθον, σίκυον for σίκυος, θύμον for θύμος.

be apt, but the manuscripts show this form to have been subject to replacement by other prepositions (by *παρ* at 6.30, by *κατά* at 16.94), including *ἐπί* (at 11.55). Many parallel phrases, among them *ἔρπε ποτ' Ἰδαν* (1.105), "Be off to Mt. Ida," and *ποτὶ Πῖσαν ἀφ' ἑρπων* (4.29), "As he was going off to Pisa," may be cited from Theocritus for the surface meaning here, "to or towards Boxwoods."⁸⁵ But he also uses this same preposition in the one instance in which he unquestionably intends the meaning "to the accompaniment of": *πρὸς λύραν τ' ἀείδειν* (*Ep.* 21.6),⁸⁶ "and to sing to the lyre."

Except for this isolated use of *πρὸς* by Theocritus, though, I should rather propose as emendation *ὕπό*, which for semantic and palaeographical reasons would be still more easily corrupted. This preposition may bear the same extended meaning as *ποτί*, and unlike *ποτί* even takes the genitive case when its sense is "to the accompaniment of."⁸⁷ That some preposition other than *ἐπί* originally stood in the text I think the more likely because Theocritus never elsewhere uses *ἐπί* + genitive to mean "in the direction of"⁸⁸ or any preposition twice in the same verse with different meanings, as would here be the case since *ἐπ' ἀριστερά* just precedes *ἐπὶ Πύξας*. But precisely this close juxtaposition of prepositions would have increased the chance of a scribe's assimilating the second (either *ποτί* or *ὕπό*) to the first, especially as the more usual *ἐπί* conveys a perfect surface meaning.

But easy to account for though the corruption here hypothesized may be, the question could fairly be put, at this point, whether the secondary meaning of the phrase is so vital to the case for Lycidas' equation with Pan, so necessary to the rounding off of his characterization, as to warrant all the traffic with linguistic minutiae. The combined weight of all the clues to Lycidas' identity as Pan does, I believe, justify us in reading these terminating words about him as the final tip-off to

⁸⁵ Yet it may be significant that when *ἔρπειν* is followed as at 7.131 by *ὁδόν* no prepositional phrase expressing direction of motion is required; cf. 8.75: *τὰν ἀμετέραν ὁδὸν εἴρπον*.

⁸⁶ Here the Doric *ποτί* yields as expected to its koine counterpart.

⁸⁷ E.g., Hes. *Shield* 280 f *ὕπὸ φορμύγγων ἀναγον χορόν* . . . / . . . *ὕπ' αὐλοῦ*; cf. Hdt. 1.17 *ἐστρατεύετο δὲ ὑπὸ συρίγγων* . . . It may also be recalled that the ultimate literary model of the Poet's Consecration records the event as taking place *Ἐλικῶνος ὑπὸ Ζαθέοιο* (Hes. *Theog.* 23, where the local use of *ὕπό* governs genitive instead of expected dative). Thus at the *literal* level *ὕπὸ Πύξας* could mean that Lycidas sped along the road (that runs) *beneath the boxwood* or *down from Pyxa* (Asphendiou?, Paton's nominee [n.43, above, p. 328] for ancient Pyxa), while Simichidas and company followed the main road.

⁸⁸ According to Rumpel's *Lexicon* (1879, rpt. 1961) 102 s.v. II A 1) b "—versus."

an aspect of his being, the essential one in the context in which he is presented — namely, his *musical* nature.⁸⁹

To establish the exact force of the reading itself, I may begin by noting the importance of boxwood in antiquity, and even till the last century, in the fabrication of musical instruments.⁹⁰ It is specified in classical sources as a material used for making rattles (*A.P.* 6.309), castanets (Propert. 4.3), the phorminx (Theocr. *Id.* 24.110), and the aulos. The first two, percussion instruments, are quickly set aside, since evidence connecting the rattle with Pan is wanting, while the strongest link between the god and castanets is slight enough: Rosenmeyer interprets Pan *φιλόκροτος* in the Homeric hymn to the god (19.2) as “fond of clappers” — if not of all “clatter.”⁹¹ It is not clear whether the statement in Daremberg / Saglio (I, 2, p. 1572b *s.v.* “Crotalum”) that castanets are found in the god’s hands rests on this same *testimonium*, or possibly on works of art similar to the famed Dancing Faun of Pompeii. A lesser work executed on the back of a silver mirror from neighboring Herculaneum illustrates the occasional association of Pan even with the phorminx, or at least with a stringed instrument of the lyre genus.⁹² Though the mirror itself is much later, its Pan-type of the musician gripped by the spell of his own playing could go back to, say, third-century antecedents. But though Theocritus’ only sure use of a *πύξος* derivative was to modify *φόρμιγξ* by the adjectival *πυξίνα*, it is obvious that there (24.110) he did not expect the elaborately composite instrument to be implicitly understood unless he added its name.

It is quite otherwise with the aulos and its poetic synonyms. This, the all-important wind instrument among the Greeks, is referred to over and again in classical literature simply by the name of the material composing the pipe’s body — *λωτός*, *κάλαμος*, *δόναξ*, or lotus-wood and

⁸⁹ R. Herbig, *Pan* (1948) 25: “Der Musik selbst ist Pan eben innig zugetan. Das urtümlichste Hirteninstrument, die Syrinx, gilt also seine eigenste Erfindung, und fast ausschliesslich dieses Instrument wird von ihm gespielt.”

⁹⁰ From a survey of oboes in European and American collections Philip Bate, *The Oboe* (1956) 130–132, concluded that between 1690 and 1830 the instrument was most often made of boxwood, “at one time the favorite wood for all the smaller musical instruments, and the so-called Turkish variety could be found with a beautiful curly grain which yielded a very handsome finish.”

⁹¹ Thomas Rosenmeyer, *The Green Cabinet* (1969) 242–243.

⁹² Illustrated in J. J. Deiss, *Herculaneum* (1966) 83; cf. the low relief of a lyre-playing Pan on a cup tondo in Monaco: *Encicl. dell’Arte Antica* V (1963) 920, fig. 1129. Early (fifth-century) depictions of lyre-playing Pans survive too: for the relevant black-figure *lekythos* in Brussels (A2296) and in the Vatican see Brommer (n.33, above, *ad init.*), figs. 17 and 21 (= *AA* 53 [1938] 380, fig. 3).

two kinds of cane.⁹³ (And here it may be useful to note that auloi are called "reed instruments" — whatever the material of the tubes, including also bamboo, metal, ivory, and bone — because they were sounded by the player's breath activating a blade or blades of thinned cane or "reeds.")⁹⁴ Though the Latin prose term for the aulos was *tibiae* (literally, of course, "shin bones") Pliny (*NH* 16.172) reports boxwood to have been standard material for the Etruscan pipes in ritual usage. That "boxwoods" had even wider currency is shown by the eight poetic passages which the *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, without being exhaustive, cites for *buxus* in the sense of "reed pipes."

Of highest relevance for us, however, are the *testimonia*, literary and otherwise, on Pan and the aulos. First, Aristophanes' son Ararus is quoted as writing in his *Birth of Pan*, "He snatched up a single-pipe (μόναυλον) straightway, you can't conceive how deftly, and began to leap with light step."⁹⁵ Second, a bucolic fragment attributed to Bion⁹⁶ mentions a song telling how Pan discovered the πλαγίαυλος, which may be the genuine cross-flute.⁹⁷ Third, though a pipe held thus horizontally is from time to time depicted in classical art, I have in cursory searching found no examples of it in the hands of a Pan figure. On the other hand, young satyrs playing the cross-flute do exist in sculptural copies thought to reflect a fourth-century original of Pan thus piping.⁹⁸

Fourth, and more interestingly, with surprising frequency Pan, like Greek pipers customarily, is represented playing the δίαυλος, or aulos pair.⁹⁹ In fact, the very earliest depiction of Pan known till now, a late

⁹³ References to the instrument, in the very construction ("to the accompaniment of") proposed *ad Id.* 7.130, occur — e.g., πρὸς Αἶβυν λακεῖν/αὐλόν (Eur. *Alc.* 346 f).

⁹⁴ For a recent authoritative account of the aulos see J. A. MacGillivray, "The Cylindrical Reed Pipe: Its Classification and Scope," in *Music, Libraries and Instruments*, ed. U. Sherrington and G. Oldham (1961) 218–220, a reference I owe to Joan Rimmer, *Ancient Musical Instruments of Western Asia in the . . . British Museum* (1969) 34–35, who also presents cogent reasons for regarding the aulos as instrument of clarinet type.

⁹⁵ Translation from C. B. Gulick's *Athenaeus: Deipn.* 4.175 (Loeb Classical Library, 1928). The scene is evidently modeled on that of Hermes' birth in the Homeric *Hymn to Hermes* 4.20–56, as Rosenmeyer (n.91, above) 336, n.39 observes.

⁹⁶ X(VII) in Gow's *Bucolici Graeci* (OCT, 1952), at verse 7.

⁹⁷ Bodley, in *AJA* 50 (1946) 231, denies (*contra* Mountford and Winnington-Ingram in *OCD*² s.v. Music §9[ii]) that this was an aulos with reed introduced by a lateral tube.

⁹⁸ See L. Budde and R. Nicholls, *A Catalogue of the Greek and Roman Sculpture in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge* (1964), 51–52.

⁹⁹ The known examples are not all published; see Herrmann (n.184, below) 88, n.28.

black-figured *krater* fragment, presents a still goat-headed Pan playing the double pipe.¹⁰⁰ Though recognizing the significance of this and the similar Pan on a Cabiric vase of a century later, Herbig argues that the tradition of the pipe playing goat-god rests partly on a confusion with Marsyas and with Silenus, partly on more or less doubtful restorations of ancient statues.¹⁰¹ Such has been his success in urging this view that both Dorothy Kent Hill and Dietrich von Bothmer have proposed merely as a possible alternative the original presence of double pipes in the hands of two bronze Pan statuettes they publish.¹⁰² Yet the latter of these, a "late fifth or fourth century" piece, is wearing the *phorbeia*, or mouthband, commonly used to keep double pipes in position. Fifth, and finally, no boxwood auloi have been preserved, though Pollux 4.74 specifies the use of boxwood for the Phrygian type (ἐλυμος).¹⁰³ But then no wooden pipes of any species have survived except for the Elgin pipes of sycamore from Attica, now in the British Museum.¹⁰⁴ All but this unique pair of instruments are of bone, ivory, or metal.¹⁰⁵

From the foregoing it will be apparent that among the musical instruments for which the classical *testimonia* furnish evidence that they were made more or less frequently of boxwood, the double pipes in explanation of Theocritus' πύξας hold the best claim. But to leave the matter there would be to invite the charge of reckoning without the host, in this case Pan *συρίζων*. For unquestionably, the vast majority of references to Pan's playing mention the syrinx, call him *συρικτής* (as 7.28 terms

¹⁰⁰ Herbig (n.89, above) 53 and pl. VII.2 = F. Brommer, *Satyroi* (1937) fig. 3. J. Boardman and Maurice Pope, *Greek Vases in Cape Town* (1961) pl. II, illustrate perhaps the earliest of all Pans in vase painting. For small, still-fifth-century terracottas, G. R. Davidson, *Corinth XII* (1952) figs. 194 f.

¹⁰¹ Herbig (n.89, above) 83, n.36; 91, n.164c; pl. XXXIII.4.

¹⁰² Hill, in *Journ. Walters Art Gall.* 17 (1954) 62-65, figs. 3-5; von Bothmer, in *Ancient Art: The Norbert Schimmel Collection*, ed. O. W. Muscarella (1974), 25 bis and pl. opp.

¹⁰³ It is this type that a statuette from Vaison seems to show Pan playing: H. Rolland, *Bronzes antiques de Haute Provence* (Gallia Suppl. 18, 1965) 83, fig. 137.

¹⁰⁴ A. Baines in *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians* I⁵ (1954) 263 s.v. "Aulos"; K. Schlesinger, *The Greek Aulos* (1939) pl. 17 and *passim*.

¹⁰⁵ This statement, valid when made by J. G. Landels, "Fragments of Auloi Found in the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 33 (1964) 392, has not to my knowledge been negated by new finds, like those at Brauron: Landels in *BSA* 63 (1968) 231-238; or those in Rumania: Viorel Cosma in *Beitr. zur Musikwiss.* 8 (1966) 3-14 and pl. pp. 89-96. K. Schlesinger, to be sure, examined a modern aulos from Egypt but did not name its species, in *The Greek Aulos* (1939); nor did F. Collinson, *The Bagpipe* (1975) 208, do so in citing a Roman pipe of wood now in the Guildhall Museum, London. (His apparent reference to a pair of boxwood auloi-elymoi is a red herring drawn from the Pollux passage.)

Lycidas), or use the verb *σπρίζω*.¹⁰⁶ The classically attested *σῦριγξ* *μονοκάλαμος* (signifying the single-pipe Panpipe¹⁰⁷) might even be adduced to account for some of those representations generally interpreted as single auloi. But so halfhearted a solution is really none at all; one could as well argue that the multiple references to *σῦριγξ* need not denote the Panpipe per se, but rather the reed *mouthpiece* of the aulos, for which the technical term was *σῦριγξ* also.

But if the classical annals are mute on the subject of *boxwood* Panpipes, ancient works of art are eloquent concerning the god's preference for the Panpipe of multiple channels. Once more the archaeological record offers the possibility for a synthesis of the seemingly discrepant data. Despite the fact that remains of Panpipes form a series running from perhaps the Upper Paleolithic onwards,¹⁰⁸ the material of which their tubes were composed is almost invariably bone, as might be expected, given the perishable nature of Panpipes formed from reed- or wood-tubes lashed together. A very few Panpipes preserved from antiquity, however, have been carved from a solid slab of wood, and of these the material, wherever specified in the notices of their excavation, is always boxwood. Without exception these examples are of West European origin and Roman date, but in Vincent Megaw's informed opinion probably all the later Panpipes in this region are "due to Mediterranean influence."¹⁰⁹ The seven-note boxwood from a second or third-century well at Alesia¹¹⁰ was scored with straight lines to give the usual raft-like appearance of Panpipes, so that similar instruments depicted in ancient art may also be thought to represent, sometimes, a syrinx of solid construction.

Almost the first illustration of the Panpipe in Greek art occurs on the early-sixth-century François vase, depicting the wedding of Peleus and

¹⁰⁶ And as Giangrande, documenting his statement, remarks in *Mnem.* 29 (1976) 152: "Now, a bucolic singer needed, above all, a *σῦριγξ* . . ."

¹⁰⁷ Mountford and Winnington-Ingram (n.97, above).

¹⁰⁸ "Problems and Non-Problems in Palaeo-organology," in *Studies in Ancient Europe: Essays . . . Piggott*, ed. J. M. Coles and D. D. Simpson (1968), 340. See now Tadeusz Malinowski, "The Question of a Northern Proto-Illyrian Borderland," *I-E Studies* 2 (1974) 219 and figs. 2-3.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, *ad init.*, p. 341.

¹¹⁰ Theodore Reinach, "La 'Flute de Pan' d'Alesia," *Pro-Alesia* 1 (1907) 161-169, 180-185 and esp. pl. XXI; F. Behn, *Musikleben im Altertum und frühen Mittelalter* (1954) 146-147. For the boxwood Panpipe from Barbing-Kreuzhof see *Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblätter* 26 (1961) 48-60 and pl. 1-2; I owe this bibliography to Megaw. As for the wooden Panpipe published by J. Arnal in *Études Roussillonaises* 5 (1956) 179-180, I have been able to consult only a *précis* which does not note the kind of wood.

Thetis. There a nine-reed version is being played by the Muse Calliope, who is identified by label.¹¹¹ Certainly, then, the instrument was not thought unworthy of being placed to the lips of the Muse, when the painter of the great mixing bowl now in Florence envisioned the marriage that gods attended.

IV

Thus far I have wholly concentrated upon those key words that Williams singled out for supporting Apollo's claim, while in fact the innocent reader of the poem successively meets numerous other hints, largely passed over by Williams but all preparative — as I hope to show by rapid commentary — to the reading of "boxwood(s)" as diagnostic for Pan. Bearing in mind the Panpipe-playing Calliope just mentioned, we now turn back to the point in the poem where Lycidas first appears. There we find it not beneath the dignity of the Muses to shower their favor on Simichidas through the agency of a goatherd to be exposed as Pan. Nothing would be gained by denying the pastoral *god* admission to the Muses' high society,¹¹² since Lycidas, whose access to them is here apparent, was a goatherd like Pan. As Gow translates,

. . . By the Muses' grace, we fell in with a wayfarer, a man of Cydonia and a worthy. His name was Lycidas, and a goatherd he was.

(7.11-13)

Equally, *σὺν Μοῖσαισι* may be rendered, "And we came upon a certain wayfarer excellent *together with the Muses* . . ." ¹¹³ It is as if Theocritus

¹¹¹ *Encicl. dell'Arte Antica*, Atlante (1973) pl. 175a; for the detail cf. Behn (n.110, above) 110 and fig. 145. For earlier illustration of Panpipes see n.115, below, *ad fin.*

¹¹² For an early Hellenistic statue of Pan *ὁ μελιζόμενος* in a sacred precinct where each gifted wayfarer is bidden to make the Muses an offering from his repertoire, see the Cnidian inscription 797 in *Brit. Mus. Inscrs.* IV, 1 (1893) 15; G. Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.* (1878) 781; C. T. Newton, *A History of Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and Branchidae* (1862) 472-474 and 747-748 (no. 29); G. E. Bean and J. M. Cook, "The Cnidia," *BSA* 47 (1952) 208.

¹¹³ Cf. the Homeric *Hymn to Pan* (19.19): *σὺν δέ σφιν τότε Νύμφαι ὄρεστιάδες λιγύμολποι*. It does nothing to weaken the case for the use of *σύν* at *Id.* 7.12 to show accompaniment, when we read at the very end of the Encounter (7.129) that Pan presented a gift *ἐκ Μοισῶν*, or, as Luck (n.8, above) phrases it, "im Auftrag der Musen." This interpretation would assign the Muses a silent part corresponding to that of Simichidas' own mute companions. At the same time it does not exclude the old instrumental use of *σύν* found in the formulaic *σὺν θεῷ* (*θεοῖς*) and regularly rendered "with God's help" or the like. Here, as throughout, Theocritus' personal idiom revivifies, without superseding, traditional phraseology.

had found the usual *Nymphs* with Pan replaced by the Graces at Mesaria,¹¹⁴ where the two fine reliefs depicting just this combination came to light, and had been struck by the possibilities of heightening the syncretism. On such an assumption, the Nymphs, the constant inspiration of Pan in his playing the pipes, are here portrayed as a sort of rustic Muses. I would go further and suggest that Theocritus is assigning the Nymphs, in the world of pastoral poetry he is creating, a role comparable to that of the Muses in the pantheon of the poets for whom *Apollō* was patron deity.

The real connections between the Muses and the Nymphs, to be sure, have been much debated. Suffice it that Theocritus makes his own view clear. Already in *Idyll* 1 he had given them haunts in common, "the fair vales of the Peneius" (1.67),¹¹⁵ and an identical relationship to Daphnis: "whom the Muses loved, nor did the Nymphs dislike him" (1.141). Actually, the structural parallelism in the original — "whom the Muses loved, whom the Nymphs by no means disliked" — bespeaks alternate modes of expressing the same idea. But the crucial passage comes later in *Idyll* 7 itself when Simichidas asserts that the

¹¹⁴ Page 75, above. On Muses confounded with Graces see Anna Rist, *The Poems of Theocritus* (1978) 146 f. For the confusion of *Nymphs* with Graces we have the word of B. S. Ridgway, *The Severe Style in Greek Sculpture* (1970) 119, who refers to E. Schwarzenberg, *Die Grazien* (1966) 16, where their initial lack of differentiation is held to be implied by Socrates (Plato, *Symp.* 7.5). Jere Wickens has kindly drawn my attention to the similarity of the earlier of the Mesaria reliefs to the Archandros relief with Nymphs and Pan, from Mt. Parnes (Athens Nat. Mus. 1329; Herbig, n.89 above, pl. XXVII.2). For the intimate association of Nymphs and Charites at Thasos see *Guide de Thasos* (École Française d'Athènes, 1967) 37, with figs. 12 and 104. The musical bent of the Charites appears already in the archaic cult statue of Delian Apollo who held on his hand the three Graces, one with a lyre, one with a diaulos, and the middle one with a syrinx. The testimony of Ps. Plutarch (*On Music* 14) on these details was accepted by Rudolf Pfeiffer in "The Image of the Delian Apollo and Apolline Ethics," *JWI* 15 (1952) 21 and 29-30.

¹¹⁵ The word choice τέμπεα points to the south foot of Olympus, on the Pierian slopes of which the Muses were born (Hes. *Theog.* 53), though here it is implied that the Vales were *Nymph*-frequented. Puelma (n.6, above) 156, n.37 "Zur Verbindung Musen-Nymphen," sees the relevance of *Idylls* 1.12, 4.29, and 5.49 also. And M. L. West, *Hesiod Theogony* (1966) 161 *ad* 23, having *ad* 7 cited passages where the Muses are actually called nymphs, observes that κοῦραι Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο there is used again of the Muses at *Il.* 2.598 but of nymphs at *Il.* 6.420, *Od.* 6.105 and 9.154. The Muses of the François Vase are modeled on the Nysaeon(?) Nymphs of two dinoi by Sophibius, the fragmentary one illustrated in Erika Simon's *Die Götter der Griechen* (1969) 270, fig. 259, and the nearly complete one in Ann Birchall's forthcoming publication of the British Museum vase (1971.1-11.1).

Nymphs have taught him, also, many fine songs. "The idea that one can be taught songs by the Nymphs," Dover observes, "takes the association of Nymphs and Muses . . . a stage further, and virtually identifies their function."¹¹⁶

The collocation *τιν ὁδίταν / ἐσθλὸν σὺν Μοίσαισι . . . ἄνδρα*, also calls attention to itself. By its initial position in the verse after necessary enjambment, *ἐσθλόν* seems intended, first, to be construed simply with the preceding noun, with which it agrees in gender, number, and case; then, to be qualified by the immediately following prepositional phrase; and finally, since an adjective and a noun framing a verse of Greek are often syntactically close-knit, to be coupled with *ἄνδρα*.

At this point I venture to resume my inquiry into the problematic *Κυδωνικὸν . . . ἄνδρα* with the question whether "We came upon a quincewood man," meaning "a quincewood figure of a man in his prime," should not be read beneath the surface level of "a Cydonian." First among transferred uses of "man" in the *OED* one finds *s.v.* "Man": "Applied to any image or portrait of a man, or to anything bearing a resemblance to a human figure. *Man of straw* (fig.) . . .¹⁶³⁶ T. Randall in *Ann. Dubrencia* (1877)17: They looke like yonder man of wood, that stands to bound the limits of the Parish lands." Pan is nowhere called a "man of quincewood"¹¹⁷ — to judge from Greek sources known to me, the species of the god's wooden image is indicated only at *A.P.* 6.99.1–2: *Κόψας ἐκ φηγοῦ σε τὸν αὐτόφλοιον ἔθηκεν / Πᾶνα Φιλοξενίδης . . .*¹¹⁸ As for the evidence gained by excavation, far too few wooden statues have been retrieved from Hellenic sites for any conclusions about the actual use of quincewood for Pan-figures or herms to be drawn, even if the species

¹¹⁶ N.1, above, pp. 158–159, *ad* 7.90.

¹¹⁷ Callimachus, to be sure, treats of Pan ὁ Μαλειήτης (fr. 689Pf.), and F. Bölte (*RE* 27, col. 947, 5–25 *s.v.* "Malus"), believing that the meaning of the Arcadian town of Malea (as well as of the mountain whither Daphnis summons Pan in *A.P.* 9.341) thus enshrined in the god's epithet may be "Apfelbaum," supposed (some!) Alexandrian poets to have mistaken the quantity of the stem vowel. But since the "apple tree" *par excellence* of ancient Greece was, as C. B. Gulick in the Loeb Athenaeus comments (vol. 1, p. 349), the quince (which simple *μηλέα* most often signified), at least Theocritus may have understood *Μαλέα* in Bölte's way and so coined *Κυδωνικόν*. (As a pointer to the normal signification of *μηλον*, the quince formed the canting-badge on Melian coins, despite the doubts well summarized by Colin Kraay in *Num. Chron.* [1964] 2, n.3; see L. H. Bailey, *The Standard Cyclopaedia of Horticulture* [1935] 2892, fig. 3325, where the natural details, including longitudinal furrows, provide sufficient inspiration for the coins' artistic stylizations.)

¹¹⁸ *Apollo*s of wood are attested, from ebony and box (Paus. 1.42.5, 6.19.16), from cedar (Pliny 13.11.53) and bay (K. Preisendanz et al., *Pap. Gr. Mag.* I, 3 [1928] 295).

of all preserved *xoana* were established.¹¹⁹ Yet often cult statues, particularly in rustic settings, were undoubtedly carved from wood of whatever species even during Hellenistic times, and in the case of Pan the very bark (*αὐτόφλοιον*) or grain would have been left ungilded or without further adornment.¹²⁰

Though the choice of quincewood for sculptural pieces is not attested in antiquity, the fruitwoods are favored for carving still, especially the pear,¹²¹ which is botanically closest to the quince and which the ancients assuredly used for cult figures.¹²² Assuredly, too, Cos would have provided a ready source for the raw material, since its later reputation as home of the finest quince perfume implies the fruit's local availability and excellence.¹²³

Again, Theocritus' choice of some adjective physically denoting material or metaphorically connoting qualities would serve well to signal that a wayside figure, if not actually the herm-form represented in the mid-Hellenistic relief from Mesaria, is to be imagined as prompting Simichidas' waking reverie. Just so, the epigrammatists of *A.Pl.* 58 and 146 indicate solely by the addition of *λαϊνέη* and *λαϊνέας* that the Bacchant and Ariadne of their couplets are statues. Though Theocritus himself specifies in his *Epigram* 4.2 that the figwood Priapus there described is a *xoanon* (*σύκινον εὐρήσεις ἀρτιγλυφὲς ξόανον*), the Greek poets were far more likely to omit this detail, while their translators add "<statue of>" or the like; thus Gow spells out *καὶ σέ* at Theocritus, *Epigram* 12.2, by "and *this figure* of thyself," and Mills, *τῷ τε Πριήπῳ / καὶ τῶν κρανίδων κατεναντίον* at *Idyll* 1.21–22 by "facing *the statue* of Priapos and the Nymphs of the Spring."¹²⁴

In omitting *τιν' ὀδίταν* and translating as "overtook" the *εὐρομες* of *Idyll* 7.11–12, however, Mills inadvertently removes any signs that the initial stimulus for this imaginary Divine Encounter was a statue or herm such as the Greek wayfarer would often meet. *Ὀδίτας*, understood merely as the (Doric) nominative for "wayfarer," is already a key word for purposes of identifying Lycidas. It is a term well chosen as a first brush-stroke in the emerging picture of the god, one of whose primordial

¹¹⁹ On the identification of woods in surviving sculpture from the Samian Heraion, G. Kopcke in *Ath. Mitt.* 82 (1967) 101.

¹²⁰ See Apollonius of Smyrna, *A.Pl.* 4.235 = Gow and Page, *The Garland of Philip* 1 (1968) 146, and 2 (1968) 165 ad XXXI.5 [1299] *αὐτόξυλος*.

¹²¹ B. J. Rendle, *World Timbers* 1 (1969) 48.

¹²² Paus. 2.17.5.

¹²³ Ath. 15.688E on the authority of the first-century-B.C. medical writer Apollonius of Citium.

¹²⁴ Italics added; Barriss Mills, *The Idylls of Theokritos* (1963) 1 and (for *Id.* 7.12) 27.

roles was as "companion on the way" to the solitary herdsman daily and seasonally threading the wilderness paths with his herd or his flock.¹²⁵ The composer of the Homeric *Hymn to Pan*, instead of listing the god's cult titles, lets us see him in action, "going up and down" (twice), "threading," "climbing up," "racing through," and "blazing a trail," just in the first thirteen lines. Herbig himself records the epithets that "spielen auf die vom Gotte erhoffte wirksame Hilfe an: *εὐόδος, ἐνόδιος, πομπαῖος* Verleiher glücklicher Reise, Wegbereiter, Geleiter."¹²⁶ I have made no attempt to gauge the currency of these by-names, except for *Εὐόδος* as perhaps corresponding best to *ὀδίταν* / *ἐσθλόν*, and that only on the basis of inscriptions published or republished by Bernand from the Paneia in the Arabian desert of southern Egypt.¹²⁷ Of these inscriptions some thirty address the god as "Pan de la Bonne Route," the earliest probably datable to 254 B.C. in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus or about the time of *Idyll* 7.¹²⁸

But *ὀδίτας* regarded as poetic counterpart for *Ἑρμῆς ὀδιος* holds further possibilities. Taken up by Hesychius, the phrase is interpreted by LSJ *s.v.* *ὀδιος* as "H. the guardian of roads and travellers, whose statues stood on the roadside." *Ἑρμῆς*, however, came to signify any pillar surmounted by a bust, human or divine, including Pan's. If, then, "a certain wayfarer" in the *Idyll* should correspond to the prosaic *Ἑρμῆς ὀδιος, εὐρομες* is undeniably the verb to describe Simichidas' coming upon it with his companions.¹²⁹ For this we have an exact parallel from Theocritus, at *Epigram* 4.2, where the poet writes, as we have seen, "thou wilt find a new-carved image of figwood."

For its part *ἄνδρα* no longer serves merely to eke out a phrase with *Κυδωνικός* (which as ethnic required no substantive) or simply to distinguish a roadside herm of Pan from Hecate *Ἐνόδιος*, whose cult statue at the crossroads, of course, was standard. Rather, it brings out

¹²⁵ Herbig (n.89, above), 22-24, recognized this aspect of Pan's "Dasein," though J. Fontenrose's note of caution in reviewing *Pan* (in *AJA* 55 [1951] 273-274 *ad fin.*) seems well taken.

¹²⁶ N.89, above, p. 44.

¹²⁷ A. Bernand, *Le Paneion d'El-Kanaïs: les inscriptions grecques* (1972) and *De Koptos à Kosseir* (1972). The inscriptions seemed to me worth closer study because of the allusion possibly made later in *Id.* 7 (113-114) to Pan in these parts: "among the farthest Aethiopians, beneath the crag of the Blemmyes." Bernand (*Le Paneion*, p. 32) concludes that the Pan of El-Kanaïs is not Theocritus' "dieu champestre," because the former has *chosen* to inhabit the wadis. But this is to treat Simichidas' threatened exile of Pan too literally.

¹²⁸ N.127, above *ad init.*, pp. 46-47, no. 10.

¹²⁹ Almost invariably (by my count 25 times, explicitly or by implication) when one character is said to find (*εὑρεῖν*) another, on battlefield or mountaintop, in the *Iliad*, the latter is seated or standing in one spot.

that the god is a good "man" with the Nymphs (Muses), a ladies' man, or in Pindar's apostrophe to Pan (fr. 110 [95]) *σεμνᾶν Χαρίτων μέλημα τερπνόν*.¹³⁰ Finally, even the Theocritean usage of *ἀνὴρ* illustrated by *Idyll* 8.49 — *ὦ τράγε, τᾶν λευκᾶν αἰγῶν ἄνερ* — fits the identification of our "wayfarer" as Pan, especially insofar as his appearance may be thought to betray his partly hircine being.¹³¹

That to the alert reader verses 11–12 of the *Thalysia* introduce Pan *sub specie imaginis* I should be content with the pointers considered thus far, except that I may have overstated an internal argument, and have reserved another, external one which bears critical weight. I may have pressed the evidence of *κυδωνικόν* too far, in that actual parallels for the carving of quincewood figures fail in both the literary and the archaeological record.¹³² In any event, *κυδωνικός* need not point exclusively to the wood species of our proposed Pan-figure, seeing that *σύκινοι*, provisionally applied to the reapers at *Idyll* 10.45, would describe their character, not their physical make-up. All the more, the fact that *κυδωνικόν* at 7.11 has an *-ικος* ending proper to adjectives of *appartenance*,¹³³ rather than the *-ινος* suffix mainly limited to adjectives of material, offers a possible lead. Accordingly, just as "figwood" there at 10.45 makes metaphorically vivid the lazy hirelings' weakness, so — *pace* Hesychius¹³⁴ — "of quince-tree type" should connote the gnarled toughness, despite the diminutive stature, of Pan and of his image. To *The Standard Cyclopaedia of Horticulture*¹³⁵ "the quince tree is small, twisted and dwarf in its habit"; to W. J. Bean,¹³⁶ "with crowded branches and a low quaint habit": the descriptive adjectives repeatedly match the visual aspect of the wiry little goat-god as he is known from Greek art, and surely that of the great majority of his images once to be seen in rustic shrines and by country roads.

To confirm this reading of *Κυδωνικόν* . . . *ἄνδρα* on internal grounds, I note in conclusion that the quince was thought to serve as a sort of

¹³⁰ Cf. the use of *ἄνδρα* for Cyprius' "lover" Adonis, at *Idyll* 15.131.

¹³¹ LSJ *s.v.* *ἀνὴρ*: "VII. male animal, Arist. *HA* 637^b 15"; cf. *OED s.v.* "Buck": "1. The male of several animals. †a. The he-goat . . . 2. transf. Applied to a man (in various associations) . . . b. A gay, dashing fellow; . . . "fast" man . . ."
¹⁷²⁵ *New Cant. Dict.*, *Buck*, as *A bold Buck* . . ."

¹³² Curiously, it is the moulding of the fruit itself into effigies (*εἰδωλόμορφον*) that is attested by Cassianus Bassus (who cites Democritus), *Geoponica* 10.27; cf. 9.1–3.

¹³³ P. Chantraine, *Études sur le vocabulaire grec* (1956) 97–171, esp. 147, where the characterizing as well as categorizing force of these words is recognized.

¹³⁴ See again p. 74, above.

¹³⁵ By L. H. Bailey, *The Standard Cyclopaedia of Horticulture* (1935) 2892.

¹³⁶ *Trees and Shrubs* I⁸ (1970) 809.

universal recipient in providing the rootstock on which a great range of scions could be grafted successfully.¹³⁷ Since a wild rootstock was regularly chosen for a cultivated graft (Thphr. *CP* 1.6.10), the analogy with two-form Pan would be all the more precise. And it is just the wild quince that Theophrastus (*HP* 2.2.5) seems to have termed the "Cydonian," to which he says the *στρούθιον* (by implication the cultivated form) reverts when grown from seed.

I shall presently recur to other elements in the *Aitia* of Callimachus which associate that profoundly influential and roughly contemporaneous work with *Idyll* 7.¹³⁸ Here I conclude discussion of the crucial first verses on Lycidas by comparing a feature unquestionably present in Book 3 of the *Aitia* (fr. 114 Pf.) and strikingly akin to the situation in our poem, wherein the catalyst for Simichidas' Encounter would be furnished by an image of Pan. For there Callimachus (? or his persona) discovers the *aition* behind the bow in one hand, and the Charites in the other, of Delian Apollo by addressing questions to the articulate cult-statue itself. Though the Delian god's attributes are explained allegorically, as befits the etiological purpose of these ill-preserved elegiacs,¹³⁹ their importance resembles that of Pan's attributes in the reading here advanced of *Idyll* 7. Similarly, the interrogation of Delian Apollo brings out both the material of his statue (*χρύσεος*) and the detail of his dress (*ζῶμα*),¹⁴⁰ somewhat as I am proposing that Theocritus did for Pan.

To resume now in translation:

Nor could one that saw him have mistaken him, for beyond all he looked the goatherd. On his shoulders he wore the tawny skin of a thick-haired shaggy goat reeking of fresh rennet, and round his breast an aged tunic was girt with a broad belt; in his right hand he grasped a crooked club of wild olive. And with a quiet smile and twinkling eye he spoke to me, and laughter hung about his lip.

No one could have mistaken him, yet Williams and Giangrande alike

¹³⁷ Only the wild fig shares this distinction, according to Cassianus Bassus after Diophanes (first century B.C.), at *Geop.* 10.76.8: *Τὰ κυδώνια καὶ τὸ ἐρινεὸν παντὸς δένδρου ἐστὶ δεκτικά . . .*

¹³⁸ N.139, below.

¹³⁹ See Pfeiffer (n.114, above, *ad fin.*) 24-32, who first understood the significance of those papyrus fragments; further, John F. Miller, "Roman Elegiac *Aitia*: Propertius IV and Ovid's *Fasti* in Light of the Poetry of Callimachus" (diss., University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1978) 74-80.

¹⁴⁰ B. S. Ridgway, *The Archaic Style in Greek Sculpture* (1977) 23 and 55, suggests that this belt may have been seen as a specifically Apolline attribute.

suppose the narrator, in his mortal ignorance or juvenile folly, incapable of seeing through the trappings of Lycidas to his essence.¹⁴¹ Sometimes this conclusion has been reached by scholars aware that Theocritus' words are drawn almost formulaically from Homeric epiphanies, in each of which the god is recognized quite correctly.¹⁴²

There are many other echoes, in succeeding verses, of the Divine Encounter conventions. They are often noted, only to be discounted on the theory that, as Giangrande puts it in extreme terms, Theocritus is composing a sophisticated Hellenistic travesty of the old topos of the Poet's Consecration. But if the growing insight that wit and high seriousness may coexist in Callimachus¹⁴³ is extended to the present passage, the merry laughter of Lycidas rings out as before, recurring leitmotif-fashion at lines 42 and 128, but without the undertones of mockery and even contempt that have been read into it.¹⁴⁴ Theocritus' phrasing of this mirth corresponds remarkably to Pindar's description of another great hybrid being of Greek myth, teacher of gods and heroes, the Centaur Chiron. In *Pythian* 9 (38–39) the Centaur reacts to his young pupil Apollo by "laughing indulgently with gentle gaze," as E. D. Francis has sensitively rendered the Pindaric ἀγανῇ χαρὸν γελάσσαις ὀφρύϊ.¹⁴⁵ Where *Pythian* 9 has χαρὸν, *Idyll* 7 puts it that Lycidas spoke ἀτρέμας . . . σεσαρώς (first at verse 19), "fixedly baring his teeth" or "grinning steadily." Σεσαρώς can be used of man or beast, expressing emotion in various ways from fawning to snarling. But it is especially appropriate to the caprine Pan, κύων of the goddess. This phrase is thus no warrant for those seeking a cruelly satirical drift in the goatherd's actually indulgent remarks to "the city-bred poet." Rather, it accurately describes the frequent portrayals of Pan, in ancient art, with lips permanently parted in a toothy grin.¹⁴⁶

That was, after all, his birthright possession. The Homeric *Hymn to Pan* characterizes the god, "who from his birth was marvellous to

¹⁴¹ Williams (n.9, above) pp. 138 and 142; Giuseppe Giangrande, "Théocrite, Simichidas et les Thalysies," *Ant. Class.* 37 (1968) 491–533.

¹⁴² As in the case of Giangrande (n. 141, above, *ad fin.*) 529. For a just account of the relevant Homeric passages see Luck (n.8, above) 187 f.

¹⁴³ See Douglass Parker's words of thoughtful protest in *CW* 57 (1964) 358.

¹⁴⁴ This demeanor of the god in epiphany, instead of betraying his amusement at not being recognized (so Williams [n.9, above] 144), may rather reveal — here as well as in Puelma's examples (n.6, above) 149 and in Luck's (n.8, above) 188 — a wish, natural in the circumstances, to reassure the mortal encountered.

¹⁴⁵ In *CP* 67 (1972) 288.

¹⁴⁶ Cf. the description by Bernard Ashmole, in *JHS* 87 (1967) 4, of the Pan-head on the Rubens vase in Baltimore: "The face takes its characteristic features . . . from a goat — the narrow, wrinkled muzzle, the prominent incisor teeth, and the lips slanting sharply up from the centre."

look upon, with goat's feet and two horns — a noisy, merry-laughing child,"¹⁴⁷ ἡδυγέλωτα here answering to the twice repeated ἀδὺ γελάσσας of Theocritus. Again, in a fourth-century Hymn from Thessaly, the dedicant acknowledges his blessings from several gods, and from Pan the gifts of laughter, merriment, and a proper self-respect.¹⁴⁸ Finally, the Attic drinking-song preserved in Athenaeus runs,

Pan, ruler of famed Arcadia,
Dancer companion of the dervish Nymphs,
May you chuckle, Pan, at my songs . . . ¹⁴⁹

As for the external attributes of Lycidas, they too are remarkable:

ἐκ μὲν γὰρ λασίοιο δασύτριχος εἶχε τράγοιο
κνακὸν δέρμ' ὥμοισι νέας ταμίσοιο ποτόσδον,
ἀμφὶ δέ οἱ στήθεσσι γέρων ἐσφίγγετο πέπλος
ζωστήρι πλακερῶ, ροικὰν δ' ἔχεν ἀγριελαίω
δεξιτερᾷ κορύναν.

(15-19)

Rosenmeyer comments upon the items of dress that they are unparalleled for their detail in all the Theocritean pastorals,¹⁵⁰ a fact which further

¹⁴⁷ Evelyn-White (n.31, above) 445.

¹⁴⁸ *SEG* I 248, l. 17 and A. S. McDevitt, *Inscriptions from Thessaly* (1970) 27: γέλωτα καὶ εὐφροσύναν ὕβριν τε δικαίαν.

¹⁴⁹ Apart from "chuckle" (γελάσειας) for his "smile", I have adopted here Thomas Rosenmeyer's translation in *The Green Cabinet* (1969) 239.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 234, n.52. Even so, it may be thought odd that a poet betraying no poverty of diction should write, ἐκ μὲν γὰρ λασίοιο δασύτριχος εἶχε τράγοιο / κνακὸν δερμ' ὥμοισι (15-16). The exceptional character of the dual expression here of the goat's shagginess is indicated by the fact that this verse alone is listed in Gow's Index s.v. "adjectives, synonymous together," and though Gow (n.27, above, p. 136) cites two other hexameters in which one adjective is held merely to reinforce the other, in both cases one of the words in question is *θοός*, rashly taken as a synonym for "swift."

In these circumstances it is worth asking whether the sympathetic reader, by now ἐπισκοπῶν, would not hear δασύτριχος as an epithet of Pan and construe it with adjacent εἶχε; both words in turn are framed by λασίοιο . . . τράγοιο (themselves being, with ἐκ, verse-initial, -central, and -final), whose identical endings support their natural linkage and their grammatical separation from δασύτριχος.

The form δασύτριχος, of course, can certainly serve as the genitive of δασύθριξ in a given context, but it was perhaps incautious of Gow (n. 27, above, p. 172), weighing *πυρροτρίχω* at *Id.* 8.3, to make anything of the fact that "T. uses forms in -θριξ," when there exist but three sure instances, even counting δασύτριχος. Thus, one may understand the Greek here as signifying, also, "On

marks Lycidas off from the common run of herdsmen. Servius, at *Aeneid* 8.282, observes that the Salian priests were sheep-and-goatskin-clad in imitation of Pan, and whatever the truth of the matter, the explanation was anyhow expected to gain credence from the reader's mental image of the god. The artistic likenesses of Pan are apt to be too sketchily rendered, and museum-guide descriptions of Pan too cursory, to allow certainty on this point, but the claws and head-form on the animal-skin cloak are sometimes obviously *feline*, while at other times the hooves and head are clearly *caprine*. Gilbert Lawall, in a keen observation that may have helped kindle my own thoughts on Lycidas, remarks the constancy of the goatskin fastened about the shoulders as an attribute of Satyrs.¹⁵¹ The point is just, but we need to recall, too, the conclusion of Brommer (whose acquaintance with Satyr- and Pan-representations alike is unsurpassed) that the originally distinct type for these two quite separate beings soon began to be conflated.¹⁵²

During the fourth century B.C. the most fully draped major statue of Pan, which survives in half a dozen copies, was created. It is called from its great animal-skin cloak the "Pan muffled up."¹⁵³ This work, to judge from its later popularity, might have been known to Theocritus and have served as partial inspiration; it still does not account for the two remaining items of dress, πέπλος and ζωστήρ. The only other place where Theocritus combines "tunic"¹⁵⁴ and "belt," as Gow here translates, is a passage (*Id.* 26.17) depicting mountain-roaming maenads. From this, considerable doubt may linger about whether we should

his shoulders Shockhair wore the sallow hide of a shaggy he-goat . . ." Cf. Φριξοκόμῃ . . . Πανί and Πάν ὁ δασυκνάμων at *A.Pl.* 291 (Anyte) and 233; Ἀμφιγυήεις for Hephaestus at Hes. *Th.* 571 etc., or Γλαυκῶπις for Athena at *Il.* 8.420 etc., among comparable epithets used without the deity's name; and D. Konstan in *CP* 74 (1979) 233 f, who finds Theocritus at *Id.* 18.57 employing εὔθριξ in elaborate wordplay to achieve a deliberate confusion of Menelaus with Chanticleer. For Pan the epithet is the more apposite as heightened sexuality has been inferred from hairiness according to both Greek philosophers and modern psychologists; see, e.g., Arist. *GA* 744b1 and T. H. Savory, *Arachnida*² (1977) 318-319.

¹⁵¹ *Theocritus' Coan Pastorals* (1967) 82.

¹⁵² *R.E.* Suppl. 8, s.v. "Pan," col. 987. 6-8.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, col. 987-989, and Herbig (n.89, above) 58 and pl. XXII, 1 and 2.

¹⁵⁴ For metrical convenience, seemingly, πέπλος may have been used for χιτών (which Gow's rendering might lead one to expect here) already in Soph. *Trach.* 758; cf. 769. But as H. Lloyd-Jones pointed out (*CR* 66 [1952] 134) in arguing that the πέπλοις of Aesch. *Ag.* 234 refers to *Agamemnon's* robes, the term is well attested for male attire: *I.T.* 312; *Ion* 1208; *Heracl.* 49, 130; *H.F.* 627, 629, 1198.

imagine the alpine huntsman Pan as girded somewhat like Artemis in the chase! But in a curious way this article of Lycidas' clothing symbolically links him to another goddess, she who presides over the scene of the Harvest Home (7.131-157). Only for an instant is the Feast of Demeter introduced into the poem's central dialogue, at line 32, where the goddess is distinguished by the epithet *εὔπεπλος*, a compound found here only in Theocritus. By means of this attribute in common, I submit, the poet deftly associates the Mistress of the Sown with the Daimon of the Steppe, the Great Goddess (here, as at Euripides' *Helen* 1301-68,¹⁵⁵ identified with Demeter) with her Boon Companion Pan. In the process, Theocritus also unites, in a way so far unremarked, the poem's centerpiece and frame.¹⁵⁶

For the rest, the stench of fresh rennet from Lycidas' cloak piquantly furnishes an odor of sanctity, albeit ranker than that which usually betrays a god's presence among mortals.¹⁵⁷ And concerning the "crooked club of wild olive," both by the precision with which we are told about this *κορύνα*, and by its final position among the items of dress and equipage, it should be the critically informative attribute. Theocritus once repeats the term by having Lycidas promise, "I will present you with this *κορύνα*" (43), only to end by giving a *λαγωβόλον* (128): "He bestowed on me his throwing stick."¹⁵⁸

This word denotes a short club used as a missile by hunters and herders to help drive cattle or to fling at hares. Rosenmeyer's sentences on the usual Pan-type begin with sound instruction: "The vases show us that from the beginning he was a herdsman's god. Often he carries a lagobolon."¹⁵⁹ Already in the fourth century it appears among Pan's most characteristic attributes, repeatedly on coin issues of the Arcadian

¹⁵⁵ On the syncretism seen in this ode, A. M. Dale, *Euripides: Helen* (1967) 147 *ad loc.*, and Koster, whom she cites, in *Meded. Ned. Ak. van Wet., Afd. Letterk.* 25 (1962) 215-237.

¹⁵⁶ Charles Segal, however, has noted in a review (*CJ* 63 [1968] 228) that Demeter (*ἄ δὲ γελάσσαι*) at verse 156 "balances" Lycidas (*ἀδὺ γελάσσας*). And though he deals (n.179, below, p. 40) with their *peploi* in terms of contrast, we both regard the diction applied to goatherd and goddess alike as ranging them on a common plane of existence.

¹⁵⁷ See E. Lohmeyer, *Vom göttlichen Wohlgeruch* (SB Heidelb., phil.-hist. Kl. 10, 9 [1919] 4 ff, a citation for which I am indebted to Luck (n.8, above) 188 n.8; cf. S. Lilja, *The Treatment of Odours in the Poetry of Antiquity* (Comment. hum. lit. 49, 1972) 26-30, 158, 205, with further references there; and add F. Bömer, *P. Ovidius Naso: Die Fasten* 2 (1958), 313 *ad* 5.376.

¹⁵⁸ Gow's rendering, "gave me his stick," lacks the hare-squailing force of the chosen term's particularity.

¹⁵⁹ Thomas Rosenmeyer (n.91, above), 239.

League.¹⁶⁰ Rosenmeyer's footnote, therefore, on lagobola ("But *not* linked with Pan in Theocritus, where only Lycidas carries the crook")¹⁶¹ rings ironically if Lycidas' true identity is Pan.¹⁶²

In the ensuing dialogue the goatherd refers to the μεσαμέριον (21) when even the lizard sleeps in the crannied wall. But midday is just the time that is still regarded in rural Greece as belonging to the Neraïdhes and Pan. At this Dangerous Hour, to be sure, one must beware of disturbing the god, but Pan was also reputed to send dreams in a Mediterranean siesta, and waking visions as well.¹⁶³

Lycidas contents himself with questions about Simichidas' business abroad at midday, simply addressing him by name (21-26), while Simichidas replies, Λυκίδα φίλε and so on, "Friend Lycidas . . ." (27-41). It is usually said that these greetings, straight off without introductions on both sides, represent mere literary convention, or else the two are old acquaintances. Yet neither explanation need hold true if Lycidas is understood as Pan discovered. Hesiod recognized the Muses in *his* renowned Encounter with divinity. Moreover, Simichidas' greeting is not too familiar to direct toward the unpretentious goat god. We have only to recall Socrates' simply phrased prayer to Pan before his image, at the end of the *Phaedrus* (279b): ὦ φίλε Πάν, it began, with just the term of affection addressed to Lycidas.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶⁰ Their verso, featuring a beardless young Pan, is well illustrated in R. T. Williams, *The Confederate Coinage of the Arcadians in the Fifth Century B.C.* (1965).

¹⁶¹ Ibid., p. 336, n.33. The shepherd's "crook," another sort of implement, is misleading: see R. Hampe's note on the "Wurfholz," in *Gymnasium* 68 (1961) 556.

¹⁶² At *Id.* 4.49, to be sure, a neatherd *wishes* he had a throwing-stick with which to whack an errant calf, but apparently he doesn't — and it looks very much as if Theocritus has deliberately restricted the λαγωβόλον to Lycidas, again to distinguish him from other herdsmen.

¹⁶³ For the lore to which this paragraph does scant justice see, besides *Id.* 1.15, R. H. and E. Blum, *The Dangerous Hour* (1970) 328 f, 331 f; Cameron (n.7, above) 301 f, Rosenmeyer (n.91, above) 88 f; H. J. Rose, *A Handbook of Greek Mythology* (1958) 178, n.9; and J. B. Friedman, "Euridice, Heurodis, and the Noon-Day Demon," in *Speculum* 41 (1966) 28, with earlier literature listed in these works.

¹⁶⁴ Simichidas himself, speaking in *propria persona* in his forthcoming song, will be heard to invoke the god, "ὦ Πάν φίλε . . ." (7.106); cf. Dover (n.1, above) 211 *ad* 15.104. For many signs of Theocritus' close acquaintance with the Platonic dialogue, see Clyde Murley, "Plato's *Phaedrus* and Theocritean Pastoral," *TAPA* 71 (1940) 281-295; C. Froidefond in *Ét. Class.* 3 (1968-70) 279-284, and Diskin Clay in *Arktouros*, Hellenic Studies Presented to Bernard M. W. Knox (1979) 345-353. Clay demonstrates that Pan's presence makes itself felt throughout the *Phaedrus*, and observes that it is Socrates, the stranger

Even Socrates permitted himself to ask a favor, and so does Simichidas now:

'All men say that among the herdsmen and the reapers¹⁶⁵ thou art by far the best of pipers, and much it glads my heart to hear; and yet, in my thought, I fancy myself thy equal . . . But come; the way and the day¹⁶⁶ are thine and mine to share; let us make country song; and each, maybe, shall profit the other.'

Do ut des is good old doctrine. Giangrande is duly appalled at the idea that Simichidas would dare put himself on a plane with a god by pro-

to the countryside, who was most "sensitive to the divinities that haunt the Ilissos"; just so, it is city-bred Simichidas who enjoys a world of discourse held in common with the goatherd. Not Plato alone before Ficino, as Clay would have it (p. 347, n.7), but also Theocritus presents a Pan "somehow concerned with λόγος," if that demonic being stands behind Lycidas.

¹⁶⁵ I would hold that ἐν ἀματήρεσσι, meaning "in the reapers' esteem," does not correspond to ἡμιθέοις in the phrase "alone of all the heroes" at *Id.* 18.18. There the prepositional phrase appears in place of the more usual genitive of the divided whole, while here ἐν with the dative tells in whose judgment Lycidas is pre-eminent among syrinx players. Simichidas, of course, equally calls Lycidas first in the esteem of herdsmen, but a translation that makes the goatherd cum Pan a herdsman does not raise difficulties, as making him a reaper does.

Some indication how reapers might convincingly rank as judges of syrinx-playing appears in another Theocritean verse: at *Id.* 10.16 the reapers are said to work in time to Polybota's tune, and the verb that describes her piping (ποταύλει) need not be limited to *aulos* music, as LSJ recognize s.v. αὐλέω II (for Luc. *D. Deor.* 12.1 read 20 [12], and for Poll. 4.74, 4.76); similarly, in *A.P.* 9.308.2-3 Arion is called φορμικτὰν . . . κιθάρη and in the Hom. *Hymn to Hermes* the god is described λύρη . . . κιθαρίζων (4.423).

¹⁶⁶ I suspect αῶς of the manuscripts, which cannot here mean "dawn," though always elsewhere it bears that significance, according to Dover (n.1, above) 153 ad 7.35. Corruption of ξυνὰ γὰρ ὁδὸς ζυνὰ δὲ καὶ αἰδῶς through haplography and the confusion of Δ with Α into . . . ΚΑΙΑΩΣ has greater intrinsic likelihood. Such a juxtaposition of ὁδός / αἰδῶς would bring to "road" a metaphorical connotation like that best known from Callim. fr. 1.25-28,

᾿πρὸς δέ σε] καὶ τόδ' ἄνωγα, τὰ μὴ πατέουσιν ἄμαξαι
τὰ στεῖβε]ιν, ἐτέρων ἵχνια μὴ καθ' ὁμά
δίφρον ἐλ]ῆν μηδ' οἶμον ἀνὰ πλατύν, ἀλλὰ κελεύθους
ἀτρίπτο]υς, εἰ καὶ στε[ι]νοτέρην ἐλάσεις.'

where Apollo commends the unworn, if narrower, paths of poetry; and it would anticipate the "modesty" both of the speaker *vis-à-vis* Sicelidas or Philitas (7.39-41) and of Lycidas *vis-à-vis* would-be rivals of Homer (7.47). Yet, in Theocritus Homericus (cf., e.g., U. Ott in *RhM* 115 [1972] 134-149) "regard" or "claim to respect," the sense of the word present in *Od.* 479-481

posing competition with him.¹⁶⁷ But when even gentle Vergil's words in *Eclogue* 4 (58 f) declare, "Should Pan compete with me and Arcady judge us, even Pan . . . would lose the contest," doubts whether Simichidas is really being portrayed as the young fool his critics make him out are in order. Just afterwards, he adds what is admitted to be a rather precisely modest remark,¹⁶⁸ "All call me the best of singers, but . . . in my own esteem I am as yet no match in song either for the great Sicelidas from Samos or for Philitas, but vie with them like a frog against grasshoppers." In light of this kind of diffidence, I prefer to think *ισοφαρίζειν* regularly overtranslated, as if this was to be an amoebic context like those in other *Idylls*, where challenges and counter-challenges are issued, where mutual stakes are settled on, and victor and vanquished declared.

To continue in translation: "So, with a purpose, did I say; and with a pleasant laugh the goatherd answered . . . 'I will give thee my stick, for thou art a sapling whom Zeus has fashioned all for truth.' " Here the goatherd's phrasing of his motive may remind some of the Muses' words as they consecrated Hesiod to poetry. But when high seriousness most abounds, then wit in Hellenistic times is seldom far away. So, by a peculiar combination of diction and metrics Theocritus has Lycidas proclaim, "For thou art" at the end of one verse, then, in emphatic position at the start of the next, drops in the vocable . . . ΠΑΝ:

‘τάν τοι’, ἔφα, ‘κορύναν δωρύττομαι, οὔνεκεν ἐσσί
πᾶν ἐπ’ ἀλαθείᾳ πεπλασμένον ἐκ Διὸς ἔρνος.

(43-44)

As if to confirm the hearer's doubting ears, he at once adds the phrase

("πᾶσι γὰρ ἀνθρώποισιν . . . ἀοιδοὶ / τιμῆς ἔμμοροι εἰσι καὶ αἰδοῦς, οὔνεκ' ἄρα σφέας / οἷμας Μοῦσ' ἐδίδαξε, φίλησε δὲ φύλον ἀοιδῶν."), where Odysseus ascribes to bards "honor and regard" as their lot, thanks to the Muses' care and instruction, would be still more apposite: in *Etym. Mag.* *τιμή* is listed first among meanings of *αἰδώς*. C. H. von Erffa, *AIDΩΣ* (*Philologus* Suppl. 30:2, 1937) esp. 46, D. B. Claus in *TAPA* 105 (1975) 13-28, J. M. Redfield, *Nature and Culture in the Iliad* (1975) 115-121, E. R. Dodds and T. A. Sinclair in *CR* 39 (1925) 102-104 and 147 f suggest the range of nuances ascribed to the word. Finally, for the metrics of the emendation cf. *Ζῆνα δὲ τόν θ' ἔρξαντα καὶ ὃς τάδε πάντ' ἐφύτευσεν / οὐκ ἐθέλεις νεικεῖν ἵνα γὰρ δέος ἔνθα καὶ αἰδώς*. In these hexameters which Plato (*Euth.* 12A-B) quotes from the *Cypria* and which I cite from the Budé text of M. Croiset, *καὶ αἰδώς* occupies the verse-final position, just as it did — if I am right — in 7.35.

¹⁶⁷ N.121, above *ad fin.*, p. 528.

¹⁶⁸ N.1, above, p. 147.

ἐπ' ἀλαθείᾳ, "really and truly."¹⁶⁹ It is only when one continues with the second half of the verse that the odds are altered in favor of taking ΠΑΝ as the adverb meaning "altogether" and ἐπ' ἀλαθείᾳ as signifying "for truth."

Now a pun, even a Pan pun, must make a kind of outrageous sense, the import here being that Simichidas is a Pan incarnate and so deserves the emblem of the musical daimon who stays close to the perennial springs of inspiration.¹⁷⁰ But Theocritus, having here come as close to stating the terms of his artistic being as he ever does, now repeats his manifesto as the personal viewpoint of our Lycidas and thus wryly confers a divine sanction upon it: "For much I hate the builder who seeks to raise his house as high as the peak of Mount Oromedon, and much those cocks of the Muses who lose their toil with crowing against the bard of Chios."

Others have well interpreted the larger import of these strictures against those who would out-Homer Homer,¹⁷¹ but on one point I am obliged to comment, because Williams saw it as an additional string in Apollo's bow.¹⁷² He argued that Horomedon was the mountain that loomed to the south of our hikers, and that a sacrificial calendar¹⁷³

¹⁶⁹ As Plato had Socrates assert, "Even the gods like a joke" (*Crat.* 407c). For more on Theocritus' wordplay and Lycidas' irony here, see Charles Segal, "Simichidas' Modesty: Theocritus, *Idyll* 7.44," *AJP* 95 (1974) 128-131.

¹⁷⁰ Being of the spiritual lineage of Pan, Simichidas would appropriately be dubbed "offspring of the snubnosed one." Pan was portrayed with the pug nose befitting a goat god, as *inter alia* the coins of Panticapaeum, which have a splendid Pan's head (with the ivy wreath of a poet!) as their canting-badge, attest: e.g., Kraay / Hirmer, *Greek Coins* (1966) pl. XV. Σίμος, further, is known to have been a satyr name (LSJ s.v. and BCH 91 [1967]). But the only earlier instance of the diminutive "Simich-" in literature appears in "Simiche" (as editors — including Gomme and Sandbach, *Menander: A Commentary* [1973] 132 and 743 — usually render her name), who figures in that festal work of the young playwright, his still recently retrieved *Dyskolos*. This comedy has for presiding genius a Pan near akin to Lycidas as I see him here. (Besides the commentaries see P. Photiades, "Pan's Prologue to the *Dyskolos* of Menander," *G & R* 5 [1958] 108-122, especially her remarks on Pan as a god there of rustic merriment, of mystery and enchantment, of moderation and generosity.) It evokes an atmosphere redolent of the goat god's Phylasian haunts, an atmosphere that the creator of pastoral must have savored and imbibed. Without denying the satyric resonances of "Simichidas," then, one may wonder whether familiarity with the Old Woman's name, appearing thrice (636, 926, 931) in the text, did not also prompt Theocritus to adopt the name.

¹⁷¹ Tellingly enough by Gow himself (n.27, above) 144, even without anticipating the sudden relevance that Lycidas' identification as the divine patron of bucolic poetry lends these words.

¹⁷² N.9, above, pp. 142-143.

¹⁷³ The document, discovered by J. Zarraftis, was published by Herzog (n.72, above) 14-19.

found on Cos attests a cult of Apollo Horomedon. Accordingly, Apollo has special rights over the mountain just as he has over poetry, and the builder who tries to raise a house as high as its peaks incurs the goat-herd's hatred because the mountain is sacred to Apollo. With this reading I should have no quarrel if only the goatherd's hatred were understood to signify *Pan's* hostility, not Apollo's. For, as a honer of ditties (μελύδριον ἐξεπόνασα (51)), Pan might well be opposed to the pretentious moderns who were affecting to compose epic on the scale of Apolline Homer.

In one other phrase where Williams saw significant geographical allusion I find his interpretation wholly felicitous in principle. When Simichidas asserts (7.93) that the fame of his poetic pieces may have carried even to the throne of Zeus, Gow, like others, adopts the view that "some great person is meant, who on Cos can hardly be other than Ptolemy Philadelphus."¹⁷⁴ But the alleged comparison of Ptolemy to Zeus at *Idyll* 17.131 is no real parallel, and Williams proposes instead that the "throne of Zeus" means one of the twin peaks of Mt. Horomedon. Unfortunately, there is no evidence that any part of this massif was sacred to Zeus.¹⁷⁵ But Herzog long ago noticed that the modern name for the mountain at the remote western tip of Cos is Zini, as if from ancient Ζηνίον.¹⁷⁶ Not only does this form agree with that universally used for Zeus on Cos till Koine times, but it would help explain why Theocritus here employs Ζηνός, the alternative form of Zeus in the genitive, instead of Διός, as at 7.44. Finally, if I may be permitted a personal observation after visiting Pan's Coan haunts, the god's great cave that Doro Levi excavated¹⁷⁷ is set high on the southern slope of Mt. Zini, whose peak is quite as thronelike as other mountaintops known to have been called the "Throne of Zeus."¹⁷⁸

V

With these topographical notes I have completed what is intended as a nearly comprehensive account of *Idyll* 7's centerpiece insofar as it

¹⁷⁴ N.27, above, p. 155.

¹⁷⁵ The inscription (no. 5A, line 20, in Herzog [n.72, above] 16 f) on which this proposal must chiefly depend actually mentions Zeus' mountain only by dint of restoration: ἐν τῷ [τοῦ Ζηνός] ὄρει. The article τοῦ is unexpected here, where, moreover, [Ἀπόλλωνος] fits the lacuna better.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 54.

¹⁷⁷ N.76, above.

¹⁷⁸ A. B. Cook devoted a long section of his vast thesaurus (*Zeus* I [1914] 124-148) expressly to "The mountain as the Throne of Zeus." For the modern designation of the northern peak of Olympus as "Throne of Zeus" see Johanna Schmidt in *R.E.* 35 (1939) s.v. "Olympos," col. 267, ll. 51-59.

records an Encounter between Simichidas as 'Theocritus' poetic *persona* and Lycidas as Pan consecrating him to bucolic poetry. The reservation must be added, of course, because the *songs* that the two exchange ideally should reflect the identity of each "composer," yet to interpret them fully would mean to risk seriously overburdening an already lengthy essay. Fortunately, Charles Segal's "Theocritus' Seventh Idyll and Lycidas"¹⁷⁹ and K. J. McKay's "Pomp and Pastoralia in Theokritos' *Idyll* 7"¹⁸⁰ have recently and complementarily characterized the two songs afresh, building on earlier scholars' work but offering much in the way of perceptive new analysis. In general I should be well content to adhere to Segal's view of the first song ("Through the magic of poetry, mythology, and that mysterious calm which he possesses from his first appearance . . . Lycidas sets his love into a larger setting") as against the second ("Simichidas addresses the conventional figures of the Erotes to curse another. With <an> idealized pastoral scene Lycidas ends; Simichidas goes on to an urban setting of house doors . . . and the bit of social realism in the old hag and superstitious practices" [p. 52]. "His allusions to Pan are learned and literary . . . and he teases the god with playfully exaggerated threats" [p. 54]).

But I am obliged to offer at least some indication how I would handle certain details of the songs, those for which the identity of Lycidas as Pan might seem problematic. No more obstacle, naturally, is posed by Simichidas' jocular¹⁸¹ threats against Pan¹⁸² in his song (7.109-114) than is raised for Williams by the reference to Apollo earlier in the same song (100-101). The piquant situational humor is merely transferred to Simichidas' invocation of *my* proposed deity behind Lycidas. *Pan* would relish the joke, and so Lycidas is described, ἀδὺν γελάσσας / ὥς πάρος (128-129).

Lycidas' own song, further, lends itself to utterance by Pan as readily as by Apollo. If the opening verses on Ageanax's voyage to Mitylene is interpreted literally as showing a relationship to the sea on Lycidas' part beyond that of any ordinary rustic, Apollo's claims as a marine deity could undoubtedly meet this test; but neither are Pan's links with the sea — and his importance in the eyes of sailors and fishers — negligible, as his epithet at *Idyll* 5.14 (ἄκτιος) suggests.¹⁸³ As for the amorous

¹⁷⁹ *Weiner Studien* N.F. 8 (1974) esp. 45-58.

¹⁸⁰ *AUMLA* no. 44 (1975) esp. 184-186.

¹⁸¹ So expressed in Bruno Snell, *The Discovery of the Mind*, transl. T. G. Rosenmeyer (1953) 289.

¹⁸² See Giangrande (n.121, above), 495, on the witty reversal here, whereby a wrong calls forth punishment not by a god but upon a god.

¹⁸³ The epithet is already attested for Pan at Pindar, fr. 98 Snell; cf. schol. *ad Id.* 5.14-16 (p. 159.19 Wendel); *A.P.* 10.10, 6.167 and 196. On Apollo

inclinations imputed to Pan by the present reading of Lycidas' song, they too are sufficiently documented in both the literary and the artistic record. Besides the witness of the Theocritean *Epigram* 3, *Pap. Graec. Vind.* 29. 801, lines 13–16, reads:

ἦ ῥά σευ ὑπνώοντος ἀπειρεσίη[ν] μετὰ θο[ί]νην
κλέψε τετὴν σύριγγα κατ' οὔρεα Δάφνης ὃ βού[ι]της
ἦ Λύ(κ)ος ἦ (ἔτι) Θύρσις, Ἀμύντιχος ἢ Μεν[ά]λκης·
κείνοις γὰρ κραδίην ἐπικαίειαι ἡιθέοισ[ιν].¹⁸⁴

Correspondingly, his reputation¹⁸⁵ as an occupational hazard to stripling herders is documented in art at least as early as the 460s, when the Boston bell-crater with the scene that provides the Pan-painter his name was created.¹⁸⁶ That Lycidas should be associated so closely with Tityrus and the two shepherds at his feast reflects the accessibility of the rustic god to his pastoral votaries; this nearness of deity to mortal herdsmen is pictured in the very first lines of *Idyll* 1 (2–4):

ἀδὺ δὲ καὶ τύ
συρίσδες· μετὰ Πᾶνα τὸ δεύτερον ἄθλον ἀποισῇ.
αἶ κα τῆνος ἔλῃ κεραὸν τράγον, αἶγα τὺ λαψῇ·

One verse of Lycidas' song, however, might well be thought to rule out alike the recognition of our goatherd as Pan, as Apollo, or as any other deity. "Would thou hadst been numbered with the living in my day"¹⁸⁷ seems at first glance to express the wish of a mortal Lycidas

Delphinus and Pan Actius, respectively, see J. Dumont, "Les dauphines d'Apollon," *Quaderni d' historia* (Bari) 1 (1975) 57–85, and K. Roth, "Ein Silberbecher aus Aventicum," *Helvetica archaeologica* 1 (1970) 81–85.

¹⁸⁴ *SIFC* 18 (1942) 116; see also Roscher in *Philol.* 53 (1894) 317, n.62. Eros himself, and possibly Olympus, can be added to this list; see Ariel Herrmann in *AK* 18 (1975) 87 f and Pliny *Nat. Hist.* 36.35.

¹⁸⁵ Pace Segal (n.159, above) 54, n.104, depending on Lasserre. (At the same time, no one has intuited more keenly than Segal, on pp. 58, 61, 63, and *passim*, that Pan is the presiding deity of the Encounter in *Id.* 7, though he does not read the implication of Lycidas' overseeing his projected feast as Demeter presides over the Thalyssia with which that feast is juxtaposed.)

¹⁸⁶ *The Pan Painter* (1974, the unpubl. English text of 1931, rev. 1944 and 1947, in *Bilder griechischen Vasen* 4, ed. J. D. Beazley and Paul Jacobsthal), 2 and 10, pls. 2 and 4; cf. L. D. Caskey and Beazley, *Attic Vase-Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, pt. 2 (1954), pls. 47 and 49. For dating see A. B. Follmann, *Der Pan-Maler*, in *Abh. zur Kunst-, Musik-, und Literaturwiss.* 52 (1968) 45 (ca. 460 B.C.); but cf. Erika Simon, *Die griechischen Vasen* (1976) 123 (ca. 470).

¹⁸⁷ As Gow translates *Id.* 7.86, αἶθ' ἐπ' ἐμεῦ ζωοῖς ἐναρίθμιος ὄφελος ἦμεν.

that he had lived in the generation of the immortalized goatherd Comatas. But closer inspection reveals that this verse forms the center of a seven-line snatch of song carefully set off by ὦ μακαριστὲ Κομᾶτα . . . (83) and . . . θεῖε Κομᾶτα (89). In short, these vocatives frame no mere comment by Lycidas on the song of Tityrus, whose participation by singing at Lycidas' feast is foretold by the prospective master of ceremonies in his own song (72-82). Rather, they and the verses set off by them would in modern punctuation be enclosed by single quotation marks to show that they form part of *Tityrus's* song. Elsewhere too, at *Idyll* 4.32 and 14.30,¹⁸⁸ Theocritus introduces excerpts from a song, but never elsewhere with such elaborate symmetry, metrical as well as verbal. Here, it was as important for Theocritus, lacking more recent resources of orthography, to make clear whom verses 83-89 should be attributed to as it was for Hesiod at *Works and Days* 209-211, when *he* employed similar devices to separate himself from the words of the hawk to the nightingale.¹⁸⁹ For on Theocritus' success at this point might hinge the chances that his discerning readers would recognize Lycidas for the immortal goatherd that I believe the poet intended.¹⁹⁰

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¹⁸⁸ See Gow (n.27, above), 84 *ad* 4.32; Dover (n.1, above), 192 *ad* 14.30.

¹⁸⁹ K. J. McKay, "Hesiod, *Op.* 209-211," *Hermes* 90 (1962) 249-251, was first to demonstrate how determined the apostle of Δίκη was not to have the "law of the jungle" fathered upon him.

¹⁹⁰ The gracious invitation by Eugene H. Falk to address the Philological Club of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill led me to undertake this study, the warm encouragement of Brooks Otis sustained me in its development, and the friendly aid of Kenneth Reckford helped me to its completion.

ON APOLLODORUS OF CYRENE

A. R. DYCK

I. FRAGMENTS¹

A. Commentary on Euripides²

fr.

- 1 Eur. *Or.* 1381-84: Φρ. "Ιλιον "Ιλιον, ὥμοι μοι,
Φρύγιον ἄστν καὶ καλλίβωλον "Ι-
δας ὄρος ἱερόν, ὥς σ' ὀλόμενον στένω
ἀρμάτειον ἀρμάτειον μέλος . . .

sch. Eur. *Or.* 1384: Ἀπολλόδωρος ὁ Κυρηναῖος παρεπιγραφὴν λέγει εἶναι τὸ †ἀρμόδιον, ὦ "Ιλιον†. εἰ δὲ ἦν παρεπιγραφή, ἅπαξ ἂν ἐπεγράφετο {τὸ "Ιλιον ἀπώλετο}.

1 ἐπιγράφει λέγων TB corr. Kirchhoff || 2 ἀρμόδιον ὦ "Ιλιον] ἀρμάτειον μέλος εἰς τὸ "Ιλιον Schwartz ἀρμάτειον tantum (verbis ὦ "Ιλιον seclusis) malim (vd. comm. ad loc.) || 3 τὸ "Ιλιον ἀπώλετο post Ἐκτορος (1, 220, 21 editionis suae) recte transposuit Schwartz

¹ The abbreviations here employed are the same as or less compendious than those of LSJ except for the following:

- AG . . . Bk. Immanuelis Bekkeri *Anecdota Graeca*, 1, Berolini, 1814
Ba. *Anecdota Graeca* e codd. mss. bibl. reg. Parisin. descripsit Ludovicus Bachmannus, 1, Lipsiae, 1828
Bk. Lex. 5 Bekkeri *Lexicon* 5, ed. in: AG 195-318 Bk.
Harp. . . . Bk. Harpocraton et Moeris ex recensione Immanuelis Bekkeri, Berolini, 1833
Phot. Amphil. qu. Photii *Amphilochiae quaestiones*, ed. in: *Patrologiae cursus completus* etc., series *Graeca*, ed. J.-P. Migne, 101, Parisiis, 1900
Σ^a *Lexici Segueriani Συναγωγή λέξεων χρησίμων* inscripti pars prima e cod. Coisl. Graec. 347, ed. C. Boysen, Progr., Marburg, 1891/92
Σ^b *Συναγωγῆς λέξεων χρησίμων recensio aucta* (cod. Coisl. 345), ed. AG 319-476 Bk. (litt. a) et Ba. 178-422 (reliqua)
Su. *Suidae Lexicon*, ed. Ada Adler, 5 vols., Lipsiae, 1928-38

² Cf. (G.) Wentzel, *RE* 1.2 (Stuttgart, 1894), 2886.45.

B. Glossographica³

- 2 Su. α 2674: ἄντικρυς: κατέναντι, ἐξ ἐναντίας. | οἱ δὲ γλωσσογράφοι καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος ὁ Κυρηναῖος καὶ ἕτεραί φησι δηλοῦν. καὶ γὰρ διαμπερές καὶ ἰθὺς καὶ εὐθύς καὶ ἐπ' εὐθείας καὶ ἰσχυρῶς καὶ σαφῶς καὶ ἀκριβῶς καὶ ἀπλῶς. | οἱ δὲ φασιν . . .

cf. Boethum ap. Phot. Lex. 148, 19–22 R. (de quo cf. R. Reitzenstein, *Der Anfang des Lexikons des Photios* [Lipsiae et Berolini, 1907], p. XXVIII); Phot. Amphil. qu. 21 (PG 101, 151 C = H. Diels, *Hermes* 26 [1891], 256–57, § XXIII) || 3 διαμπερές] fort. ex sch. D ad Δ 481 | ἐπ' εὐθείας] cf. Σ^b (AG 408, 30 Bk.; deest Σ^a)

- 3 Su. β 206: βδελύττεσθαι: αἰτιατικῇ. | μυσάττεσθαι, ναυτιᾶν, ἀποστρέφεσθαι. | Ἀπολλόδωρος Κυρηναῖος, μισεῖν. | . . .

cf. Hsch. (Cyrill.) β 390 et 391

- 4a Et. Gen. (AB) β 304 (p. 163, l. 10 Berger), unde Et. Sym. β 266 (p. 164, l. 8 Berger) et EM 217. 55: βωμολόχος: βωμολόχοι κυρίως ἐλέγοντο οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν θυσιῶν λοχῶντες, τουτέστι καθίζοντες καὶ μετὰ κολακείας προσαιτοῦντες. οὗτοι γὰρ ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαβεῖν τι παρὰ τῶν ἀποθνόντων πολλὰ λιπαροῦσι κολακεύοντες. μεταφορικῶς δὲ καὶ ὁ
5 παραπλησίως †τούτων ἔνεκα ὠφελείας †τινὰ κολακεύων καὶ πᾶν ὁτιοῦν ὑπομένων ἐπὶ κέρδει διὰ τοῦ παίζειν τε καὶ σκώπτειν, ὅθεν καὶ βωμακεύματα καὶ βωμολοχεύματα (Ag. Eqq. 902; Pax 748). ἔτι δὲ καὶ οἱ παραλαμβανόμενοι ταῖς θυσίαις αὐληταὶ καὶ μάντιες. | Ἀπολλόδωρος δὲ Κυρηναῖος, ὁ εὐτράπελος καὶ γελωτοποιός. | τινὲς
10 δὲ τὸν μετὰ τινος εὐτραπείας κόλακα καὶ τὸν πανοῦργον δὲ καὶ συκοφάντην. οὕτως εὗρον εἰς τὸ ῥητορικὸν λεξικόν.
4b Su. β 489 = sch. Luc. 227.29: βωμολόχος: ὁ περὶ τοὺς βωμοὺς λοχῶν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαβεῖν τι παρὰ τῶν θνόντων. μεταφορικῶς δὲ καὶ ὁ παραπλησίως τούτῳ ὠφελείας ἔνεκά τινος κολακεύων. καὶ
15 βωμακεύματα καὶ βωμολοχεύματα. | Ἀπολλόδωρος Κυρηναῖος, ὁ εὐτράπελος καὶ γελωτοποιός. | τινὲς τὸν μετὰ τινος εὐτραπείας κόλακα. καὶ τὸν πανοῦργον δὲ καὶ συκοφάντην.
4c sch. Pl. Rp. 606c (p. 274 Greene): βωμολοχίας: βωμολοχία ἐστὶ προσεδρεία τις περὶ τοὺς βωμοὺς ὑπὲρ τοῦ τι παρὰ τῶν θνόντων
20 λαβεῖν. μεταφορικῶς δὲ καὶ ἡ παραπλησίως ταύτῃ ὠφελείας ἔνεκά τινος κολακεία καὶ βωμολόχος ὁ κατ' αὐτὴν διακείμενος, ἥ ὁ

³ Cf. ad fr. 5 infra, as well as Kurt Latte, "Glossographika," *Philologus* 80 (1925), 167 = *Kleine Schriften*, hrsg. v. Olof Gigon, W. Buchwald, W. Kunkel (Munich, 1968), p. 658.

εὐτράπελος καὶ γελωτοποιός· τινὲς δὲ τὸν μετὰ τινος εὐτραπείας κόλακα, ἥ τὸν πανοῦργον καὶ συκοφάντην. καὶ βωμακεύματα καὶ βωμολοχεύματα, ὡς Ἀπολλόδωρος ὁ Κυρηναῖος.

2 τῶν A om. B || 2 καὶ A om. B || 4 ἀποθνόντων A, Et. Sym. EF, EM θνόντων B (cf. ll. 13 et 19) || 5 τούτων AB, Et. Sym. EF τούτοις (recte) Et. Sym. CD, EM (cf. ll. 14 et 20) | τινὰ AB, EM (cf. l. 14) τινός (recte) Et. Sym. (cf. l. 21) || 10 κόλακα A om. B | δέ² A om. B || 12 βωμολόχος: (le.) Su. βωμολοχικά: βωμολόχος sch. Luc. || 14 ἔνεκα Su. ἔνεκεν sch. Luc. | τινας] cf. ll. 5 et 21 || 16 post τινὲς verb. δέ hab. sch. Luc. om. Su. || 17 δέ Su. (cf. l. 10) om. sch. Luc.

ex Synag. (cf. Ba. 183.5) auct. ex Harp. 47.3 Bk. fluxit 4a (cf. Su. β 486), ex Synag. tantum 4b et 4c; cf. comm. ad loc. et de voce βωμολόχος generatim cf. adn. ad lex. Αἰμωδεῖν β 3 (editionis quam publici iuris facturus sum) || 9, 16, 22 εὐτράπελος cf. comm. ad loc. || 9, 16, 22 γελωτοποιός cf. Aristot. EN 1128a4 et EE 1234a10; Hsch. (Diogen.) β 1387; Bk. Lex. 5 (AG 221, 12)

- 5 Athen. 487b: ΜΑΣΤΟΣ. Ἀπολλόδωρος ὁ Κυρηναῖος, ὡς Πάμφιλός φησι, Παφίους τὸ ποτήριον οὕτως καλεῖν.

cf. Poll. 6.95; Hsch. (Diogen.) μ 366; Eust. 1258,58: καὶ παρὰ Παφίοις δὲ μασθὸς ποτήριον, σύντομον, ὡς εἰκός, ἐξ οὗ ἐβδάλλετο τρόπον τινὰ ὡς ἐκ μασθοῦ τὸ πινόμενον. καινὸν δὲ οὐδὲν μασθῶ εἰκάζειν ποτήριον, εἰ καὶ οὐθαρ ἀρούρης Ὅμηρος φθάσας ἔφη (sc. I 141 et 283; — ποτήριον ex Athen.; σύντομον — Eust. ipse, ut vid.)

II. COMMENTARY ON THE FRAGMENTS

Fr. 1: ἀρμάτειον has been corrupted to ἀρμόδιον by interference of the proverb Ἀρμοδίου μέλος.⁴ After the occurrence of this corruption, the words ὦ Ἴλιον were added, with the intent of clarification, by a reader who now misunderstood the following criticism as referring to the repetition of Ἴλιον (v. 1381) rather than of ἀρμάτειον.⁵

⁴ Cf. Diogen. Cent. 2.68; Macar. Cent. 2.32; Apost. Cent. 3.82; also Athen. 692 f (= Antiph. fr. 4 Kock [CAF vol. 2, p. 14]) and 695a-b (= PMG 893-896 Page); sch. Ar. Ach. 980; Hsch. (Diogen.) α 7317; Su. α 3975.

⁵ For a modern evaluation of Apollodorus' remark cf. O. Taplin, "Did Greek Dramatists Write Stage Directions?" *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 203 (1977), 125.

Fr. 2: The temptation should be resisted to make the distinction of Apollodorus from the γλωσσογράφοι a basis for chronological inferences. The γλωσσογράφοι mentioned in the Homeric scholia cannot be firmly dated;⁶ furthermore, the persons referred to under this name vary according to the source.⁷

Fr. 4: The initial problem posed by this fragment is that of the delimitation of Apollodorus' property: 4a and 4b both clearly assign to him ὁ εὐτράπελος καὶ γελωτοποιός as a gloss on βωμολόχος; 4c, however, leaves open three distinct possibilities: (1) τινὲς δὲ τὸν μετὰ τινος to the end may be Apollodorus'; (2) ἢ τὸν πανοῦργον to the end; or (3) only the derivation καὶ βωμακεύματα καὶ βωμολοχεύματα (from βωμολοχία / βωμολόχος). Furthermore, 4c implicitly assigns the gloss ὁ εὐτράπελος καὶ γελωτοποιός to someone other than Apollodorus (since τινὲς δὲ . . . follows). On the other hand, 4a and 4b assign the definition τὸν μετὰ τινος εὐτραπέλιος κόλακα καὶ τὸν πανοῦργον δὲ καὶ συκοφάντην to other authority than Apollodorus (τινὲς δὲ . . .) and clearly mark the beginning of Apollodorus' material after the derivation of βωμακεύματα and βωμολοχεύματα from βωμολόχος. Since, then, we clearly have alternative versions before us (4a–b vs. 4c), any temptation to combine them and attribute to Apollodorus all the information assigned to him in either version should be resisted.

The problem as to which of the versions is authentic can be approached by an analysis of the relationships of the witnesses among themselves and to their source. It is helpful that the author of the Et. Gen. names his source (οὕτως εὗρον εἰς τὸ ῥητορικὸν λεξικόν). Reitzenstein identified this rhetorical lexicon as an augmented version of the Συναγωγὴ

⁶ The most thorough discussion is still that of K. Lehrs, *De Aristarchi Studiis Homericis*³ (Lipsiae, 1882), pp. 36–39: he concludes that the term γλωσσογράφοι as used in the Homeric scholia refers to schoolmasters whose explanations of Homeric vocables were common currency when Aristarchus set to work on the text of Homer. K. Latte (n.3 supra), p. 148, n.26 = *Kl. Schr.*, pp. 641–2, n.26, adds further references and offers this modification of Lehrs' conclusion: "Über ihre Zeit wird man weniger bestimmt urteilen als Lehrs . . . die Tradition der älteren Homererklärung hatte noch nach Aristarch ihre Vertreter." Rudolf Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship from the Beginnings to the End of the Hellenistic Age* (Oxford, 1968), p. 79, does not give his grounds for dating the beginning of their activity "surely not before the later third century." Latte and Pfeiffer are appealed to as authorities for the view "dass diese Glossographen an das Ende des 3. Jh. v. Chr. zu datieren seien" by A. A. Nikitas, "Bemerkungen zum Lexikon von Liddell-Scott-Jones," *Würzburger Jahrbücher für die Altertumswissenschaft*, N.F. 4 (1978), 75, who then goes on to refer to "die Glossographen des 3. Jh. v. Chr." (ibid., p. 77).

⁷ Lehrs (n.6 supra), pp. 38–39, n.21.

λέξεων χρησίμων;⁸ an augmented version of the *Συναγωγή* is also the probable source of Su. β 489⁹ and sch. Luc. 227.29.¹⁰ The additional material which 4a presents as compared to 4b-c is probably to be explained by the use in Et. Gen. of a version of the *Συναγωγή* already interpolated from an epitome of Harpocration (47.3 Bk.).¹¹ Sch. Pl. *Rp.* 606c is likely to derive from a source similar to 4b-c: the gloss on βωμολόχος is primary, the application to the abstract βωμολοχία secondary, as is clear from the words καὶ βωμολόχος ὁ κατ' αὐτὴν διακείμενος, a *Hilfskonstruktion* added to effect a transition to material still in the form of a gloss on βωμολόχος.¹²

If such is the relationship of the witnesses, the peculiarities of sch. Pl. *Rp.* 606c can be easily accounted for. Its author, using a version of the *Συναγωγή* closely akin to that underlying Su. β 489 and sch. Luc. 227.29, chose to rearrange the latter part of the gloss by placing καὶ βωμακεύματα καὶ βωμολοχεύματα after . . . καὶ συκοφάντην. However, in the absence of guidance from particles, he assumed that the source-indication Ἀπολλόδωρος (ὁ) Κυρηναῖος which immediately followed βωμολοχεύματα belonged with the preceding rather than the following words.

The fact that Apollodorus' first definition (εὐτράπελος) ignores Aristotle's distinction between εὐτραπελία and βωμολοχία (*EN* 1108a23-25; *EE* 1234a45) probably should not be used as a chronological index for dating Apollodorus before the publication of Aristotle's *πραγματεῖαι*

⁸ Cf. R. Reitzenstein, *RE* 6.1 (Stuttgart, 1907), 813.42-49, with literature there cited. Note, however, that Apollodorus' name has been dropped from the surviving version of the augmented *Συναγωγή* (Ba. 183.5), rightly characterized by K. Alpers, *BZ* 64 (1971), 81, as "ein elendes 'Degenerationsprodukt.'"

⁹ So Adler in her edition, ad loc.

¹⁰ In general on the relation of corresponding glosses in Su. and sch. Luc. cf. Adler, *RE* 4A (Stuttgart, 1931), 699.42-45.

¹¹ Adler, *ibid.* 693.15-45, attempts to reconcile the attribution of Harpocration-glosses in the Et.Gen. to the *ῥητορικόν* with her hypothesis of the separate use of Harpocration in Phot. and Su.

¹² Cf. the similar application of the gloss βωμολόχος to the form βωμολοχικά of Luc. *De hist. conscr.* 17 at sch. Luc. 227.29. / H. Erbse, *Untersuchungen zu den attizistischen Lexika*, Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, phil.-hist. Kl., Jg. 1949, 2 (Berlin, 1950), p. 53, leaves open the question whether the immediate source of sch. Pl. *Rp.* 606c was Pausanias atticista (β 26 of his edition) or the *Συναγωγή*. Note, however, that the attribution of a corresponding gloss to Pausanias by Leopold Cohn, *Untersuchungen über die Quellen der Plato-Scholien*, Jahrbücher für klassische Philologie, hrsg. v. A. Fleckeisen, 13. Supplbd. (Leipzig, 1884), p. 813 rests upon no evidence (there is no corresponding material in Eustathius). John Burnet, who was responsible for the source-attributions in W. C. Greene's *Scholia Platonica* (Haverfordiae, 1938: cf. p. xxv), as usual, follows Cohn, since he notes, ad loc.: "e Lex. Att."

by Andronicus of Rhodes:¹³ even in the first century A.D. when there was no lack of editions of the *πραγματεῖαι* philosophers and scholars such as Seneca, Quintilian, and Plutarch failed to consult them.¹⁴

Fr. 5: This fragment is important because it not only establishes the *terminus ante quem* for Apollodorus' activity but also shows that he studied (in the same work?) dialect as well as Attic glosses. In addition, it sheds light on the early transmission of Apollodorus' lexicographical fragments: it might well be that all of them owe their preservation ultimately to quotation by Pamphilus.

Unfortunately, the assured property of Apollodorus of Cyrene is not sufficiently extensive to enable one to establish criteria for assigning to him (as opposed to Apollodorus of Athens) lexicographical material transmitted merely under the name 'Απολλόδωρος'.¹⁵

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¹³ For the date of this, cf. now Paul Moraux, *Der Aristotelismus bei den Griechen*, I, Peripatoi 5 (Berlin-New York, 1973), 45-58.

¹⁴ Cf. I. Düring, "Notes on the History of the Transmission of Aristotle's Writings," *Acta Universitatis Gotoburgensis* 56 (1950:3), 40-41; on Plutarch cf. Anthony Kenny, *The Aristotelian Ethics: A Study of the Relationship between the Eudemian and Nicomachean Ethics of Aristotle* (Oxford, 1978), p. 26.

¹⁵ Such material is to be found at *FGH* 244 F 231, 232, 234, 238, 240, 242, 244b, 247, 249, 252, 255, 258-260, 265, 266, 270, 274, 276, 279, 280, 302 *bis*. (I have excluded fragments dealing with problems of etymology, orthography, and Homeric exegesis, since it remains uncertain whether our grammarian made contributions in any of these fields).

TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM APHRODISIAS

CHRISTOPHER JONES

IN 1913 the French excavations at Aphrodisias uncovered the main part of a statue-base in the north portico of the Hadrianic baths.¹ On one face was a decree testifying to the merits of the athlete whose statue had stood on the base; this was published by Louis Robert in 1939.² On the face to the left of the decree was an agonistic epigram. It is with the publication of this that the present article is mainly concerned, though for clarity I have also provided a text, translation, and brief discussion of the decree.

Above all I must express my thanks to Professor Louis Robert, who published the first of the inscriptions discussed here and has generously agreed to my publishing the other one; in addition, I could not have written this article without the guidance of his many works on ancient athletics. I am also grateful to Kenan Erim and Joyce Reynolds, the Director and the Epigraphist of the expedition now excavating Aphrodisias under the auspices of the National Geographic Society and New York University, for their encouragement and help; to Glen Bowersock and those who participated in a seminar held on these texts at the Institut Fernand Courby, Lyon, on April 4, 1979, for their criticisms; to Mary Beard for making the squeezes; to Martha Joukowsky for figure 1; and to John Glover of the Photographic Department, Faculty of Arts and Science, University of Toronto, for figures 2-6.

¹ All dates are A.D. unless otherwise indicated. I have used the following special abbreviations: *Bull.* = J. and L. Robert, "Bulletin épigraphique" (indicated by year of *REG* and number of the item); Ebert = J. Ebert, *Griechische Epigramme auf Sieger an gymnischen und hippischen Agonen*, AbhLeipzig 63, 2 (1972); Moretti, *IGUR* = L. Moretti, *Inscriptiones graecae urbis Romae* (1968-); Moretti, *Iscr. ag. gr.* = L. Moretti, *Iscrizioni agonistiche greche* (1953); Robert, *Buckler Studies* = L. Robert, "Inscriptions grecques d'Asie Mineure," *Anatolian Studies Presented to William Hepburn Buckler* (1939) 227-248 (reprinted in *Opera Minora Selecta* 1 [1969] 611-632; I have given the pagination only of the original edition); Robert, *Gladiateurs* = L. Robert, *Les gladiateurs dans l'Orient grec* (1940); Robert, *Hell.* = L. Robert, *Hellenica* (the volumes referred to are 4 [1948], 5 [1948], 7 [1949], 11/12 [1960], 13 [1965]); Robert, "Lucillius" = L. Robert, "Les épigrammes satiriques de Lucillius sur les athlètes: Parodie et réalités," *Entretiens Hardt* XIV: *L'épigramme grecque* (1969) 181-291.

² Robert, *Buckler Studies* 230-244, whence R. Merkelbach, *ZPE* 14 (1974) 91-94. For a plan of these baths, E. Will, *RA* 12⁶ (1938) 234. The re-edition of this inscription by H. Wankel, *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, Teil I a (1979) no. 12, adds nothing to Merkelbach.

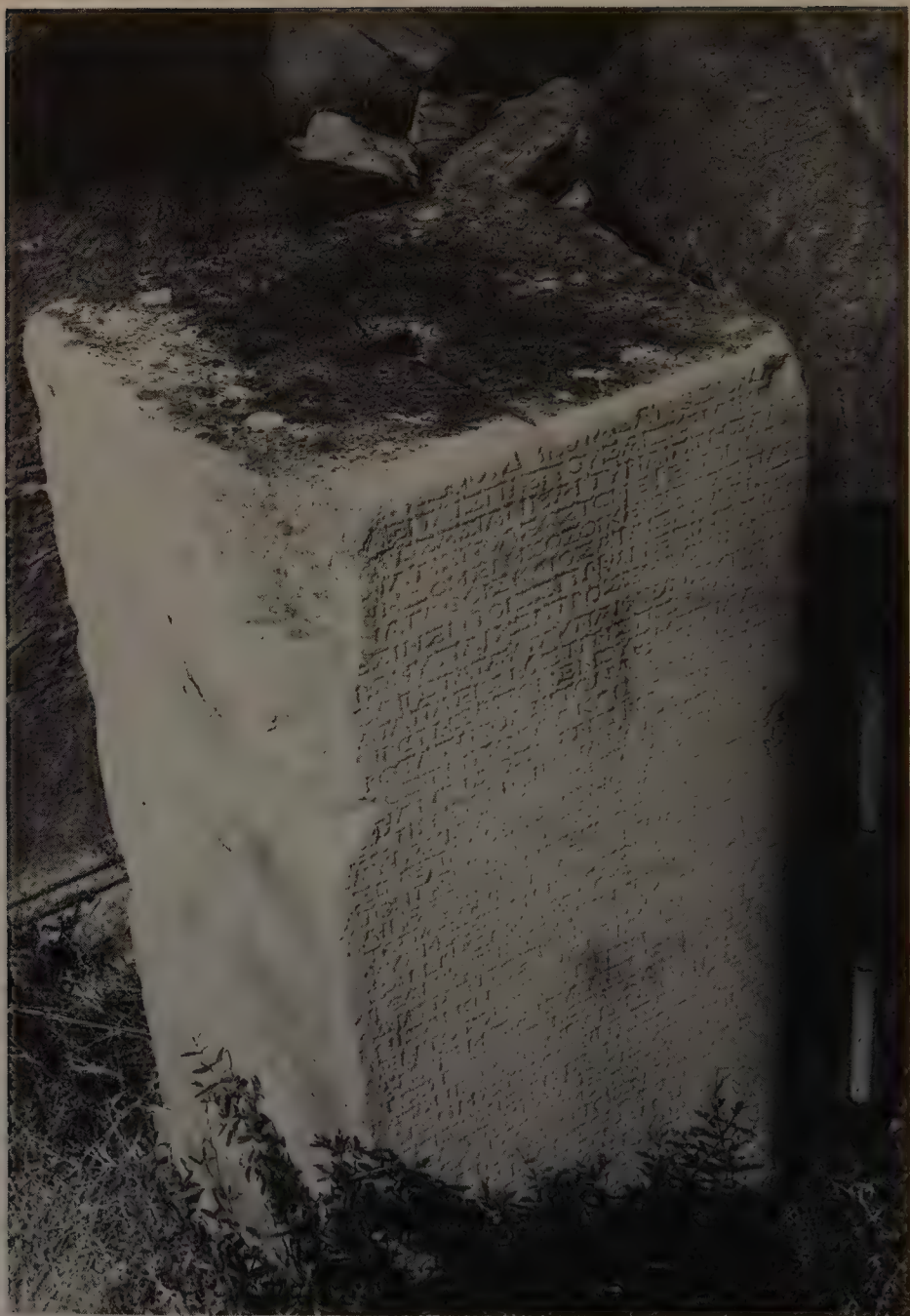


FIG. 1. Aphrodisias: Base of Achilles' statue

All that now survives of the original base is the shaft. The hole and groove on top (fig. 1) can hardly have served for the insertion of a statue; they must rather be the join for a now lost block containing the molding and perhaps the topmost part of the shaft.³ The fact that the extant first lines of both decree and epigram are cut just on the surviving upper edge raises the question whether, as elsewhere at Aphrodisias, the original texts began on the lost part.⁴ That this is so is virtually proved by the absence of the athlete Achilles' name from the epigram and by the fact that the second word is δέ,⁵ and to a lesser extent by the abruptness with which the decree begins.

The shaft is 1.27 m. high; the side with the decree is 0.525 m. broad, that with the epigram 0.54 m. The height of letters (except phi) is 1.4 cm. in the decree, 1.8 cm. in the epigram. As figure 1 shows, an upper corner of the shaft has perished, and with it parts of the first extant lines of both decree and epigram; in addition, the edges of the shaft have been partly chipped away. Though I inspected the stone and made a preliminary copy in August 1977, my material basis for the two texts is really confined to the two squeezes of which I give reversed photographs (figs. 2-6).

I propose the following text of the decree. In the apparatus, I have noted only those points on which I diverge substantially from the *editio princeps*; I have silently followed Robert's text in those places (lines 18-20, 26) where the stone is now less complete than in 1913.

(a line or lines missing)

- [. . .] ἐσπουδακότας ἀποδεχο[μέ]-
 [νης] ἀεὶ ταῖς πρεπούσαις καὶ δικα[ί]-
 [αις] πρὸς ἀξίαν μαρτυρίαις τῆς λαμ-
 4 [πρ]οτάτης πόλεως τῶν Ἐφεσίων, καὶ
 [συ]νηδομένης ὡς οἰκείοις τοῖς παν-
 [τω]ν ἀγαθοῖς, καὶ ὅσα ταῖς ἄλλαις πό-
 [λ]εσιν ἐν τοῖς ἐπιφανέσιν τῶν ἀν-
 8 [δ]ρῶν ὑπάρχει, πρὸς εὐδοκίμησιν
 [ἐ]ξαίρετα ταῦτα ὑπάρχειν εὐτυχή-

³ For photographs of similar bases, Ch. Habicht, *Altertümer von Pergamon VIII 3: Die Inschriften des Asklepieions* (1969) pl. 3 nos. 7 and 8 (both the foot and the capital separate from the shaft; the capital lost in no. 8), pl. 8 no. 21 (the capital separate from the shaft and bearing the first lines of the inscription). See also next n.

⁴ Cf. Boeckh on *CIG* 2811: "Initium hic ut in multis aliis Aphrodisiensibus titulis mutilum est: quippe id in cymatio scriptum esse solebat: quo laeso periit." For such an inscribed cap, *MAMA* 8.495 with pl. 29.

⁵ However, for works of literature with δέ as their second word, A. Wilhelm, *WS* 56 (1938) 75.



FIG. 2. The decree, lines 1-18



FIG. 3. The decree, lines 12-28



FIG. 4. The decree, lines 27-44



FIG. 6. The epigram, lines 6-12

- [μ]ατα, πλείον δέ τι τῆς περὶ τὴν εὖνοι-
 [α]ν ῥοπῆς ἀπονεμούσης τῇ λαμ-
 12 προτάτῃ πόλει τῶν Ἀφροδισιέων,
 [π]ρὸς τὴν πολλὰ καὶ ἐξαίρετα περὶ
 [τ]ὴν ἀντίδοσιν τῆς φιλοστοργίας
 ἐστὶν αὐτῇ δίκαια, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα
 16 Ἀνρ. Ἀχιλλέα σώματος μὲν ἄσκη-
 σιν ἐπανελόμενον, ἀθλήσεως δὲ
 τὸν γενναιότατον, βίου δὲ καὶ προ-
 αιρέσέως τὸν σεμνότατον, ὡς ἐν αὐ-
 20 τῷ πᾶσαν κεκρᾶσθαι τὴν ἀρετὴν ὅσην
 ψυχῆς ἐστὶν καὶ σώματος, ἀποδε-
 ξαμένης μὲν πολλάκις, καὶ ἐν τοῖς
 φθάνουσιν ἀγῶσιν, οἷς ἐκόσμησεν
 24 διαπρεπῶς καὶ μετὰ πάσης ἀγω-
 νισάμενος ἀνδρείας, μάλιστα δὲ
 ἐν τῷ τῶν Ὀλυμπίων ἀγῶνι, ὅτι προ-
 τρεψαμένης αὐτὸν ὡς πατρίδος
 28 τῆς πόλεως εἰς τὸ τελεώτατον τῶν
 ἀγωνισμάτων καὶ τὴν κρίσιν τῶν ἀν-
 δρῶν μετελθεῖν, ὑπακούσας κα[ὶ]
 πεισθεὶς τῇ προτροπῇ τοὺς τε ἀν-
 32 τιπάλους κατηγωνίσατο καὶ μετὰ
 τοσαύτης δόξης τὸν κότινον ἀν[ε]-
 δήσατο ὡς ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα τῶν
 εὐδοκιμησάντων ἀγωνισμάτων
 36 καταριθμεῖσθαι τὴν ἀνδρείαν αὐ-
 τοῦ καὶ προθυμίαν· διὰ ταῦτα ἔ-
 δοξεν μὴ μέχρῃς μόνῃς τῆς γνώ-
 σεως τῶν παρόντων μηδὲ τῶν ἀ-
 40 παντησάντων κατὰ καιρὸν τῷ στα-
 δίῳ στήναι τὴν περὶ τούτων μαρτυρί-
 αν, ἅμα γὰρ καὶ παρακαταθέσθ[αι] δι[ὰ]
 τούτου τοῦ ψηφίσματος ἔτι μᾶ[λ]-
 44 λον αὐτὸν τῇ πατρίδι.

1. [...] Jones: [τούς] Robert. I have argued above that the epigram, and probably the decree also, are mutilated at the beginning. The missing lines might have contained the beginning of the decree proper, or something else, such as a formula of ratification by the council and assembly (in this case, of Ephesus)⁶ or a title indicating the contents.⁷

⁶ Thus Robert, *Buckler Studies* 233.

⁷ For such titles in decrees, A. Wilhelm, *Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde* (1909) 282-283; for a recent example in an official letter, Robert, *BCH* 101 (1977) 120.

5-6. πάν[τω]ν Merkelbach, *ZPE* 14 (1974) 91; πάν[πα]ν Robert.

8-9. Comma after ὑπάρχει Jones, after ἐξαίρετα Robert; see below.

9. On the mark like a grave accent over the upsilon of ὑπάρχειν, see below.

9-10. εὐτυχή[μ]ατα Jones; εὐτυχῇ, [κ]ατά Robert. But εὐτυχῇ seems odd, and so does κατὰ πλεῖον; ἐπὶ πλεῖον would be easier. I therefore read εὐτυχῇ[μ]ατα "blessings,"⁸ qualified by ἐξαίρετα, and take πρὸς εὐδοκίμῃσιν to modify the whole phrase, "are especial blessings as far as good repute is concerned." Thereafter I take πλεῖον and τι together, "a particular degree," and τῆς ῥοπῆς as a partitive genitive.⁹

37. The resolution is distinguished from the preceding considerations by a mark of punctuation before διὰ ταῦτα.

42. ἄμα Jones; ἀλλά Robert. The photograph seems decisive for ἄμα, though the γάρ is odd: ἄμα δὲ καί would be expected, as in the roughly contemporary letter of Argos republished by Robert, *BCH* 101 (1977) 122 line 11.

"... (Whereas) the most illustrious city of the Ephesians in every case honors those who have shown zeal with the testimonies that are fitting and appropriate to their worth; and whereas it rejoices in the advantages of all people as if they were its own, (considering that)¹⁰ what other cities have by way of distinguished men are especial blessings with regard to good repute; and whereas it allots a particular degree of inclination to goodwill to the most illustrious city of Aphrodisias,¹¹ with which it is on terms tending to the interchange of affection;¹² and whereas because of this it has often¹³ honored Aurelius

⁸ LSJ gloss εὐτύχημα as "piece of good luck, success," but the examples in Stephanus show that it can also mean "blessing, advantage"; thus of a city's "advantages," Str. 5.235. Fabius Maximus in his decree on the calendar of Asia (*OGIS* 458 line 8; Sherk, *Roman Documents from the Greek East* no. 65 A; U. Laffi, *SCO* 16 [1967] 20) calls Augustus τὸ κοινὸν πάντων εὐτύχημα.

⁹ For this sense of the comparative, Kühner-Gerth 2.305-307; the implied comparison is with cities other than Aphrodisias. Thus in effect Robert, *Buckler Studies* 235; Merkelbach, *ZPE* 14 (1974) 93, takes this as a genitive of comparison.

¹⁰ It seems necessary to supply such an idea, with Robert, *Buckler Studies* 234, n.4: cf. Kühner-Gerth 2 p. 544 A.1.

¹¹ The decree describes Aphrodisias in exactly the same terms as Ephesus; for the sensitivity of cities over their nomenclature, Robert, *HSCP* 81 (1977) 1-39.

¹² τήν must apparently be taken as the relative pronoun: cf. Robert, *Buckler Studies* 235; on this in later Greek, Schwyzler, *Gr. Gramm.* 2² (1950) 642-643. For this sense of δίκαια, particularly with reference to the friendly terms between cities, see Robert, *BCH* 101 (1977) 128 n.207.

¹³ There is a slight anacoluthon, ἀποδεξαμένης μὲν in 21-22 being answered

Achilles, who has undertaken the training of the body, and is most distinguished in athletics, and yet most irreproachable in his manner of life and his behaviour, so that all existing spiritual and physical excellence is combined in him, both in past contests which he adorned by competing conspicuously and with all courage, and especially in the competition of the Olympic games, where, when the city urged him as if it were his ancestral one to proceed to the most advanced of contests and the category of men,¹⁴ consenting and being persuaded by the encouragement he defeated his opponents and bound on the crown of wild olive with such glory that his courage and zeal were counted among the most reputed of contests;¹⁵

“For these reasons it seemed right that the testimony of these matters should not be confined merely to the knowledge of those attending and those who were present in the stadium on the occasion, for moreover he should be still further commended to his ancestral city by means of this decree.”

The decree consists of a single sentence, the considerations being expressed in a series of genitive absolutes of which the last is the longest and most complex.¹⁶ Hiatus is avoided,¹⁷ and there appears to be a conscious use of rhythm.¹⁸ The cutting of the decree also seems self-conscious and elaborate. Ligatures are used about forty times within words, but only once between them: the exception is *τελεώτατον τῶν* in 28, where the mason ran short of space at the end of a line. The same concern for intelligibility probably explains the mark like a grave accent over the upsilon of *ὑπάρχειν* in 9. This cannot be accidental, since the

by *μάλιστα δέ* in 25, which is really subordinate to it. *πολλάκις* is perhaps to be taken only with the words immediately following, *καὶ . . . ἀνδρείας*, but I prefer to place a comma after it, “often, both in past contests . . . but especially in the contest of the Olympia . . .”

¹⁴ For this sense of *κρίσις* see Robert, *Buckler Studies* 239–244. I follow the view of Merkelbach, *ZPE* 14 (1974) 93–94, that the preceding phrase, *τὸ τελεώτατον τῶν ἀγωνισμάτων*, merely expresses the same idea. For *τέλειος* in this sense, cf. Ebert no. 76 B lines 3–4, ‘*Ἑλλὰς ὃν εἶπε τέλειον, ὅτ’ εἶδέ με παιδὸς ἐν ἀκμῇ, τὴν ἀνδρῶν ἀρετὴν χερσὶν ἐνεγκάμενον*’; also Moretti, *IGUR* 244 line 10. For other tautologies in the decree, cf. lines 2–3, 24–25, 30–31, 39–41.

¹⁵ That is, presumably, “caused the contest to be counted among the most reputed”; it was a “historic” match.

¹⁶ Cf. the letter, not dissimilar in content, of the Panhellenes to Aezani concerning one of its notable citizens: *OGIS* 504 (James H. Oliver, *Hesperia* Suppl. 13 [1970] 113–114).

¹⁷ Apart from elidable vowels such as *ταῦτα ὑπάρχειν* in 9, there is only *καὶ ὅσα* in 6; *ἀγῶνι, ὅτι* in 26 occurs across two cola.

¹⁸ Double trochee, 8, 15, 26, 30, 39; molossus and cretic, 21, 44; double cretic, 29.

same mark occurs twice in the epigram. In the decree, it enables the reader to divide correctly the otherwise confusing letters *TAYTAYΠ-APXEIN*: in other words, it acts as a diaeresis, which is normally shown by two dots but occasionally by a horizontal line.¹⁹ It will be seen later that in cutting the epigram the mason has made a similar use both of this mark and of ligatures.

About the content of the decree the essential has been said by Robert. A date after the *Constitutio Antoniniana* of 212 is suggested by the name "Aurelius"; the Olympia at Ephesus in which Achilles competed are not found after about 250, and may have come to an end with the Gothic attack of 263.²⁰ Achilles is an athlete of Aphrodisias who has competed many times at Ephesus; the fact that Ephesus feels able to act as his second *πατρίς* perhaps suggests that he had relatives there.²¹ His speciality is not named, though *ἀνδρεία* (25, 36) shows him to have been a "heavy" athlete (boxer, wrestler, or pancratiast), a type particularly popular in the imperial period.²² He had distinguished himself recently at the Ephesian Olympia, which among other features borrowed from the Olympia of Elis the crown of wild olive, *κότινος*.²³ The original Olympia and, in imitation of them, those of Ephesus, did not use the standard three age-classes of boys, youths, and men (*παῖδες, ἀγένοιοι, ἄνδρες*), but only boys and men.²⁴ Achilles must have belonged to the first, though probably close in age to the second, since it is said in lines 26 to 30 that Ephesus urged him to "go over to the men's category" (*εἰς τὴν κρίσιν τῶν ἀνδρῶν μετελθεῖν*). The reference is to a practice well known from athletic inscriptions: a boy or youth of precocious ability would "change" or "move" (*μεταβαίνειν, προσβαίνειν*) to the men's category, sometimes between contests but occasionally in the course of a single contest, or even a single day.²⁵ Here it seems to be

¹⁹ Robert, *Hell.* 13.252; also P. Moraux, *Une imprécation funéraire à Néo-césarée* (1959) 11 n.1.

²⁰ Thus M. Lämmer, *Olympien und Hadrianeen im antiken Ephesos*, diss. Köln 1967, 12.

²¹ For a family with members both in Ephesus and in Aphrodisias, *PIR*² A 334, C 1071. Cf. Artem. *Oneirocr.* 3.66 ad fin., p. 366 lines 21-22 Pack.

²² Robert, *Bull.* 1939.357, suggested that Achilles was a pancratiast; even if the phrase which he used in evidence is to be understood otherwise (above, n.14), the abundant parallels with other epigrams of pancratiasts support his view.

²³ Robert, *Buckler Studies* 238, and (most recently) *CRAI* 1974. 176-181, esp. 180-181.

²⁴ Lämmer, (above, n.20), 29.

²⁵ Thus Merkelbach, *ZPE* 14 (1974) 93-94, with bibliography in 94 n.6. For an example of this feat precisely at Ephesus, though not at the Olympia, J.-P. Michaud, *BCH* 94 (1970) 949-950 (*Bull.* 1971.308).

implied that Achilles had already fought in his own age-class at the same meeting of the Olympia. His success had not only brought increased renown to Ephesus and its Olympia, but also reflected glory on his true πατρίς, Aphrodisias.²⁶ Hence Ephesus can expect to commend Achilles "even more" to his city by informing it of his success. The decree whereby it does so is technically a ψήφισμα μαρτυρητικόν, passed to attest the merits of Achilles. As it stands, it does not provide for the erection of his statue or for its own publication: these two measures are therefore probably due not to the initiative of Ephesus, but rather of Aphrodisias or an individual such as the agonothete of the recent Olympia.²⁷

The epigram is cut by the same hand as the decree. The lettering is identical in both: a peculiar feature is the use of two forms of omega, which occur in close juxtaposition both in the decree (e.g. 39) and the epigram (e.g. 8), one of them with and the other without horizontal lines. The same elaborate care is visible in the cutting of the epigram as of the decree. It is divided by verses, though only once (8) was the mason able to fit a whole verse into one line: elsewhere, what could not be fitted into the first line is carefully centred below it. Ligatures are again employed sparingly. They are not used at all in the isolated ends of verses. In the full lines, they are again avoided between words, with two exceptions: the elided εἴτ' ἐπιφημίξης in 3 and ἔριν ἐκλήτου in 12. In this second instance the same grave accent is visible over the epsilon of ἐκλήτου as over the upsilon of ὑπάρχειν in the decree, and the same mark also appears over the iota of εὐκλεῖη in line 10. The mason has therefore used the same sign as a diaeresis both within and between words, and also to mark a division between words in a place where the diaeresis was not appropriate.²⁸

The identity of hands between the decree and the epigram raises the question of the relation between the two. It is natural to assume that they both refer to the same person, Aurelius Achilles:²⁹ the absence of Achilles' name from the epigram is easily explained by the loss of the upper part. An archaeological parallel, though not exact, is provided by a base from Olympia, in which a prose inscription on the front names the athlete and his victories, while the two sides bear epigrams in his

²⁶ For the connection between an athlete's victory and his city's glory, Robert, *RevPhil* 41³ (1967) 17-27.

²⁷ For agonothetes erecting athletes' statues, Robert, *Buckler Studies* 237.

²⁸ For the various marks used to divide words in inscriptions, S. Reinach, *Traité d'épigraphie grecque* (1885) 214-216.

²⁹ Thus Robert, *Buckler Studies* 230.

honor.³⁰ I have therefore taken Achilles to be the subject of the epigram, though this will raise a difficulty in line 3.

I propose the following text and translation:

(at least one couplet missing)

- εἴτε δὲ Βαριανοῖο .[2] . [5-7] | ἀγορεύσεις
 ΜΕΤΡΟΙΣ νεικήσας τοῦτο[ν ἔχω] | κότινον· |
 εἴτ' ἐπιφημίξης τὸν ἔφη[βον ἄ]|ρείονα φωτῶν, |
 καὶ κατὰ τούτου Ζεὺς ὥπα[σέ] | μοι κότινον. |
 4 ἐν πᾶσιν δὲ ἐθνέων Εἰρ [1-3] | σταδίοις τόσος εἰμί |
 ὅσσον μήτις ἐμῶν ἀστὸς ἔ[φη] | προφέρειν·
 πλήθος δὲ στεφάνων ΑΓΟΡΕΥ [1-3] | Εἰσοικλεος ἄλλων |
 8 εἰκόνι λαινέῃ καὶ τύπῳ ἡμετέρῳ. |
 πολλάκι γὰρ δὴ Πύθια ἔ[χω] καὶ Ὀ[λύμπια] δεῖα, |
 ἀντιπάλους νεικῶν, κύνδιμο[s] | εὐκλεῖῃ, |
 οὐδένοσ ἀνθρώπων δηρεῖ|σαμένου περὶ νείκης |
 12 [ὦ]ς ἔρῳ ἐκλήτου δεύτερον ἀν|τιάσαι.

11. The final sigma seems to be carved over another letter, probably epsilon.

12. I.e. ἐκκλήτου.

“... And if you wish to proclaim . . . of Varianus . . . I defeated him and hold the crown of olive; or if you wish to extol the youth (Arion?) superior to grown men, against him too Zeus gave me the olive. In all the stadia of the nations . . . I am as great as none of my compatriots (ever) claimed to excel (?); and the number of crowns . . . of others (?) to the stone portrait, my image. For often have I won the Pythia and the divine Olympia, defeating my rivals, glorious in repute, with no man contesting my victory so as to confront a second time a contest with him against whom he had appealed (?).”

As often in agonistic epigrams, the first person represents the athlete portrayed by the statue above, the second the observer reading the epigram on the base.³¹ Here, however, this idea is developed in a way that seems unusual, at least if I have rightly understood lines 1-4. The observer is not of the usual passive kind, who wonders whom the statue represents or if it can be a true likeness; he seems to be considered as liable to praise various rivals of Achilles, and to stand in need of dissuasion.

³⁰ Moretti, *Iscr. ag. gr.* no. 64 = Ebert no. 76.

³¹ For this form, Robert, “Lucillius” 266, discussing *Anth. Plan.* 52 (Gow and Page, *The Garland of Philip*, Philip no. 66), Ebert, p. 22.

On the missing lines, see above.

1. The first word should be εἴτε, with a ligature between tau and epsilon: the εἴτ' of line 3 has the same shape. Normally εἴτε . . . εἴτε . . . introduces a double protasis with a single apodosis, but here there is the less usual construction whereby each εἴτε has its own apodosis.³² The two couplets are carefully balanced; lines 1 and 3 each have a verb meaning "you will extol," 2 and 4 each contain a form of οὗτος and end with the word κότινον. As the third word, Βαριανοῖο seems clear: for the form of beta, the beta of βίου in line 18 of the decree can be compared, and the penultimate letter must be iota from its position. This is the Latin name Varianus with beta representing the Latin V, as it does frequently from about 100 on.³³ The word scans — — — ∪, the iota being treated as a semivowel: the name Οὐαριανή stands in the equivalent place of the pentameter in an inscription from Rome.³⁴ I defer discussion of the identity of this Varianus to line 2. The traces after Βαριανοῖο are consistent with περι, either in anastrophe or governing a noun on which the name depended. The future tense of the verb seems to be of the sort expressing present intention, "if you intend to praise," with an ellipse in the apodosis, "(you should know that)."³⁵

2. ΜΕΤΡΟΙΣ should be μέτροις, dative of μέτρα rather than μετροῖς, optative of μετρέω. It hardly seems possible to take μέτροις with νεκρήσας:³⁶ it has been suggested to me that it goes with ἀγορεύσεις in line 1, "you will extol in metres," but I do not know of a parallel.³⁷ To restore the rest of the line, and identify the Varianus of line 1, it is necessary to look ahead to lines 3-4, even if that poses a danger of circularity. Line 4 can (I think) certainly be restored and interpreted thus: "against him (κατὰ τούτου) also Zeus gave me the crown of olive (κότινον)." This suggests that the letters ΤΟΥΤΟ here similarly refer to a rival of Achilles, and that κότινον is the crown which Achilles won in

³² Kühner-Gerth, 2.300 sect. 2a. For instances in second-century prose, Polemo, ed. Hinck, p. 54 lines 17-21; Aristides, ed. Dindorf, vol. 1, p. 593 lines 12 ff. For a late epigraphical instance, *Corinth* 8, 1, no. 136 = N. A. Bees, *Die griechisch-christlichen Inschriften des Peloponnes* 1 (1941) no. 15, εἴτε τέκνα ἔχει, κατορύξαιτο αὐτά, εἴτε θρέμματα, στερηθοῦτο αὐτῶν.

³³ E. Nachmanson, *Laute und Formen der magnetischen Inschriften* (1903) 76, sect. 2b; one of his examples is Βαριανῆς.

³⁴ Cf. C. P. Jones, *AJP* 99 (1978) 338; *IG* 14.1908.

³⁵ For this kind of future, Kühner-Gerth 2.466; for this ellipse, *ibid.*, 484 sect. 4b.

³⁶ According to Philostratus, *Gymn.* 14, p. 269 line 4 Kayser, p. 144 line 26 Jüthner, a trainer will teach wrestlers and pancratiasts μέτρα, apparently the "limits" which they must observe in training; but this would not do here.

³⁷ But for a funerary epigram in which poets are invited to celebrate the deceased at his tomb, Robert, *Etudes épigraphiques et philologiques* (1938) 43-44.

competition with him. τοῦτο[ν ἔχω] therefore seems secure, with the first word governed by νεικήσας, and the second governing κότινον. From this natural sense of ἔχειν, "to hold" or "to have won" a crown,³⁸ it is used by extension of having won a contest, and in this sense it can be restored in line 9. If this interpretation is right, then the Varianus of line 1 is a rival of Achilles at the Ephesian Olympia, one of those whom the decree praises him for defeating (31–32). He seems otherwise unknown.³⁹ I have not found another agonistic epigram in which a rival is actually named, but there is a parallel in prose, again from the third century. The pentathlete Demetrios of Salamis is praised at Anazarbus for "having defeated Optatus": Louis Robert has recognized in this Optatus an athlete mentioned by Philostratus in the *Gymnasticus*.⁴⁰

3. The verb ἐπιφημίξῃς is notable both in form and in meaning. Like ἀγορεύσεις in line 2, it should be the future indicative of ἐπιφημίζω:⁴¹ the suffix -ῃς is probably due to contamination with the aorist subjunctive, such as is found in later papyri.⁴² Again like ἀγορεύσεις, the verb should mean "praise," "broadcast"; this is not the usual sense of ἐπιφημίζειν, but a solitary glossary translates it as *diffamo*, so that the word appears to be late in meaning as well as in form.⁴³ For the following letters, τὸν ἔφη[βον ἀ]ρείονα φωτῶν seems the inevitable restoration. However, on the assumption that the line refers to a rival of Achilles, it appears to raise a double difficulty. Not only is the rival apparently unnamed, but the description, "youth superior to grown men," suggests that, like Achilles, he had successfully advanced to the men's category;⁴⁴ a reader might therefore understand this person to be Achilles himself. The simplest solution, though at first sight surprising, is that the word ἀρείων functions both as the adjective "superior" and

³⁸ Thus Ebert no. 45 line 4, μῦνοι δὲ θνητῶν τούσδ' ἔχομεν στεφάνους.

³⁹ Probably not M. Aurelius Varianus Pericles, a boy-wrestler at Termessus (*TAM* 3.1, no. 180; for the family, p. 300). Note the benefactor at Ephesus Αὐρ(ήλιος) Βαρανος, J. Keil, *ÖJh* 26 (1930) Beibl. 57; conceivably an error or a phonetic variant for Βαριανός.

⁴⁰ Moretti, *Iscr. ag. gr.* no. 86 line 13 (on the interpretation of this passage, *Bull.* 1974.618); Robert, "Lucillius" 185, n.1, citing Philostr. *Gymn.* 24, p. 273 line 5 Kayser (see the apparatus, p. xxxv), p. 150 line 28 Jüthner.

⁴¹ The future in -ίξω is of course frequent in later Greek: Kühner-Blass 2.561 cite φημίξω from *Orac.Sib.* 3.406, 11.316.

⁴² Blass-Debrunner-Funk, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament* sect. 363; Basil G. Mandilaras, *The Verb in the Greek Non-Literary Papyri* (1973) sects. 373–375.

⁴³ *Corp.Gloss.Lat.* 2.312 line 42, adduced by the revisers of Stephanus; this sense is ignored in Liddell and Scott.

⁴⁴ On this practice, above, n.25.

as the proper name Ar(e)ion.⁴⁵ The tendency of antiquity to play on proper names both verbally and visually is well known,⁴⁶ and it happens that a funerary epigram from Egypt plays precisely on this same one:⁴⁷

οὐκ ἄλλην ποτὲ τύμβος ἀρείονα τῆσδε κατέσχευ,
οὐ γένος, οὐ πινυτήν, οὐδὲ μὲν ἀγλαίην,
ἢ σοφὸς ἔσκε πατὴρ καὶ γυμνασίαρχος Ἀρίων·
εὐτερπῇ δὲ βίον λείπε νέη Διδύμη.

It is true that the present example is more extreme in that the literal meaning of the name is not only alluded to but, so to speak, incorporated in the syntax of the sentence; however, there may be a parallel in a Byzantine text that plays on the similar ambiguity of the name Chiron, "inferior."⁴⁸

4. With this rather elliptical use of κατά, "in competition with," may be compared the epigram for a boy-pancratiast of Ephesus who "dusted himself against opponents in three contests," τρισσὰ κατ' ἀντιπάλων ἄθλα κονεισάμενος.⁴⁹ After the deleted word of about four letters, ὦπα[σε] is easily restored by comparison with other athletic epigrams.⁵⁰ One of them also helps to restore the word deleted here by saying of a victor at Miletus, "Thrice the Didymean gave you the holy crown of laurel about your locks," τρίς μὲν σευ Διδυμεὺς ἱερὸν στέφος ὥπασε δάφνας | ἀμφὶ κόμαις.⁵¹ Similarly, a victor at Elis claims that "Pisaean Zeus twice in one day crowned me with the much-contested olive," [ζηλωτ]ὸν κότινον δις ἐφ' ἡμέ[ρῃ] ἔσ[τε]φέ με Ζ[εὺς] | Π[εισ]αῖος.⁵² Since the Olympia of Ephesus were also under the patronage of Zeus Olympios,⁵³ Ζεὺς is clearly required here, and in fact a faint trace of the sigma may

⁴⁵ For this name, Robert, *Noms indigènes dans l'Asie Mineure gréco-romaine* (1963) 76; id., *BCH* 101 (1977) 99 n.51.

⁴⁶ For visual puns, T. Ritti, *ArchCl* 25–26 (1973–1974, publ. 1975) 639–660, with general bibliography, 642 n.8.

⁴⁷ E. Bernard, *Inscriptions métriques de l'Égypte gréco-romaine*, Ann. Litt. Univ. Besançon 98 (Paris 1969) 361–363, no. 91, with previous bibliography.

⁴⁸ Isaac Porphyrogenitus, *Praef. in Hom.*, ed. J. F. Kindstrand, *Studia Graeca Upsaliensia* 14 (Uppsala 1979), p. 29 lines 92–93, ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ Χείρωνος ἀνδρὸς τοῦ διδασκάλου τούτου τὴν τέχνην τῆς μαντείας μεμάθηκε, with Kindstrand's note ad loc. Compare Cicero's joke (Plut. *Cic.* 25.5), "Ἀξίος Κράσσου.

⁴⁹ Ebert no. 76 A line 8.

⁵⁰ Ebert no. 69 line 9 (iii B.C.), no. 72 line 4 (ii B.C.), *IDidyma* 77a (ii B.C.?), *MAMA* 6.61 line 8 (imperial; here spelled ὥπασαι).

⁵¹ First published by Robert, *Hell.* 7.116 (now *IDidyma* 77a).

⁵² Ebert no. 79 lines 3–4.

⁵³ An inscription of Ephesus shows an agonothete of the Olympia dedicating a crown to Zeus Olympios after a "sacred victory" (see below, n.85): Robert, *RevPhil* 41³ (1967) 43–44; cf. 41 n.3.

be visible; the explanation of the deletion is best given in discussing the more extensive ones in line 9. The monosyllable before the caesura seems awkward, but can be exemplified.⁵⁴

5-6. This couplet is difficult, not least because two of the crucial words have been partly lost. It seems best to begin with that in line 6. *τόσος* and *ὅσσον* should belong together in one sentence, presumably ending at *προφέρειν*; *προφέρειν* should depend on a finite verb of which *μήτις* is the subject. This verb is evidently concealed in the letters after *ἀστός*, of which the epsilon is the first, and phi perhaps the second (what seems to be part of the lower serif is just visible); the whole scanned \cup —. *ἔφν*, “was of a kind to,” might be possible, but *ἔφη*, “claimed to,” better suits the context.⁵⁵ Achilles seems to be saying, “I am as great as none of my compatriots ever was,” just as a Sidonian in the third century B.C. was the first of his compatriots, *ἀστών...πρώτιστος*, to win a chariot race in Greece.⁵⁶ If so, however, the expression is awkward: the verbs of the main and the relative clauses do not exactly correspond: *ὅσσον* does not answer *τόσος* but seems to be an internal accusative governed by *προφέρειν*, and *ἀστός* is curiously used in place of *ἀστών*.⁵⁷

In line 5, the words *ἐν πᾶσιν σταδίοις* must belong together; a pancratiast of the second century, after mentioning his victories in a long series of celebrated contests, ends: *καὶ τί γάρ; ἐν σταδίοις πᾶσιν ἄλειπτος ἔφν*.⁵⁸ *ἐθνέων* should depend on *σταδίοις* and mean “of the provinces,” a frequent sense of *ἔθνος*.⁵⁹ Another pancratiast was victorious “in every region of the civilized world,” where *οἰκουμένη* no

⁵⁴ Thus Ebert no. 38 line 4, *υἱὸς δ' ἦν Τρωῖλος Ἀλκινόου*, no. 70 line 4, *κλεινὸς Ἀθάνυχος, ὃν θοῦρος Ἄρης δάμασεν*.

⁵⁵ Thus the inscription of Cynisca, the sister of Agesilaus (*IOlympia* 160; *Anth.Pal.* 13.16): *μόνον δ' ἐμέ φαμι γυναικῶν | Ἑλλάδος ἐκ πάσας τόνδε λαβὲν στέφανον*.

⁵⁶ Ebert, no. 64 line 5. Compare the athlete from Aphrodisias whose inscription carefully notes the victories he had won *πρῶτος Ἀφροδισιέων*, Moretti, *Iscr. ag. gr.* no. 72.

⁵⁷ Contrast E. Gibson, *The “Christians for Christians” Inscriptions of Phrygia* (1978) no. 27 lines 19-20, *μήτις ἐμῶν εἰδίων (ιδίων) ἡ συγγενέων μνήματα λύσι*. For *προφέρειν* with the genitive, LSJ s.v. IV 2; in later epigram, Peek, *GVI* 1732 lines 3-4.

⁵⁸ Ebert no. 78 line 12; on *ἄλειπτος*, Robert, *Hell.* 11/12.332-342. For the stadium in another athletic epigram, Ebert no. 79 lines 1, 10; in gladiatorial ones, Robert, *Gladiateurs* 21, 35.

⁵⁹ LSJ s.v. 2c. I do not think that *ἔθνη* by itself can denote the mere province of Asia: certainly this had once been officially regarded as consisting of *δῆμοι καὶ ἔθνη*, but the latter are the tribal districts not organized into cities (D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* [1950] 1064-1065 n.48).

doubt signifies the Roman empire;⁶⁰ an Egyptian one claims to have fought undefeated ἐν ἔθνεσιν τρισίν, Ἰταλία, Ἑλλάδι, Ἀσίᾳ.⁶¹ Without knowing how to restore the word (if it is one word) after ἐθνέων, it is difficult to say whether the adverbial phrase ἐν . . . σταδίοις belongs to a separate sentence or qualifies εἶμι. In this word, epsilon and iota are clear, and the third letter, though damaged, should be rho. After rho, as many as three letters may be missing. I suspect that some part of εἴρεσθαι, "ask," is required,⁶² perhaps the imperative εἴρ[ου], "Ask in all the stadia of the world: (you will find that, sc.) I am as great . . ."

7-8. This couplet seems as baffling as the last. Immediately after στεφάνων comes some part of the verb ἀγορεύειν, either ἀγορεύ|ει or ἀγόρευ[ε] | εἰ (the rule of syllabic division excludes ἀγορεύσ|ει). The following letters should represent σοι κλέος. It might seem tempting to take ἄλλων in agreement with στεφάνων, and to understand "the number of (my) other crowns." The phrase would then be an example of an idea frequent in athletic inscriptions whereby the enumeration of an athlete's major victories is rounded off by a reference to his many other ones. Already Simonides, after mentioning a runner's victories in the *periodos*, adds: τὰς δ' ἄλλας νίκας οὐκ εὐμαρὲς ἔστ' ἀριθμῆσαι; closer to the time of Achilles, another runner completes a list of his victories thus: [πολ]λάκι καὶ πάτρη με κλυτὴ [Χίος ἐν σταδίοισιν | στ]έψατο, νήριθμοι τ' ἄλλ[οι ἐμοὶ στέφανοι].⁶³ However, Achilles has not yet mentioned his greatest successes, those of the Pythia and Olympia (line 9); it may therefore be better, though the syntax would be very contorted, to read ἀγόρευε εἰ and to interpret thus, ". . . and, if you have heard of other men, tell the number of their crowns to the stone statue, my image." Achilles would then again be urging the viewer not to praise his rivals above himself, and challenging him to mention any he knows of who can claim a larger number of crowns. It must be admitted, however, that this interpretation is a counsel of despair.

8. The phrase εἰκόνι λαινέῃ (or χαλκείῃ) was a favorite in late epigram because of its metrical convenience.⁶⁴ Despite the intervening

⁶⁰ Moretti, *Iscr. ag. gr.* no. 86 line 15. For this sense of οἰκουμένη, LSJ s.v. II; it is frequent in agonistic contexts.

⁶¹ Moretti, *Iscr. ag. gr.* no. 79 lines 17-18 (id. *IGUR* 240); for this and similar claims, Robert, "Lucillius" 259-263.

⁶² Cf. Peek, *GVI* 1862, improved by Merkelbach, *ZPE* 8 (1971) 28 (*Bull.* 1972.357), "τίς τίος;" ἦν εἴρη, Κλάδος οὔνομα.

⁶³ Simon. *Anth.Pal.* 13.14, cited by Robert, "Lucillius" 266; Ebert no. 79 lines 17-18. In prose inscriptions a list of "sacred" victories may be followed by some such phrase as καὶ ἄλλους ἀγῶνας ταλαντιαίους λς': Robert, *Documents de l'Asie Mineure méridionale* (1966) 102; cf. 104.

⁶⁴ Thus Robert, *Hell.* 4.23 (twice), 53, 60, 63, 94.

καί, τύπῳ ἡμετέρῳ seems to stand in apposition with the first phrase.

9. This line has suffered two erasures, one of five to six letters and the other of about six. These erasures have carried off part of the main verb, which ended in -χω, and its two objects, though the initial omicron of the second has been left. This second object, a quadrisyllable scanning $\cup - \cup \cup$ and qualified by δεῖα, can only be 'Ολύμπια; this erasure is evidently related to that of Ζεύς in line 4.⁶⁵ The main verb should be ἔχω, in its technical sense of "having won" a contest: for example, a papyrus listing Olympic victors says of two of them, οὗτος ἔχει 'Ολύμπια δῖς, Πύθια δῖς.⁶⁶ This in turn helps to supply the word deleted before ἔχω, Πύθια; the spacing perhaps suggests that the final alpha was elided as in εἴτ' of line 3. As the two great games of the *periodos*, the Olympia and Pythia are naturally linked.⁶⁷

It is time to consider the motive for the three erasures in lines 4 and 9. They are Christian, as are other ones at Aphrodisias. In a recently published inscription carved on the *pulpitum* of the theater, the name of Aphrodite and part of that of Antoninus Pius are "ineffectively erased, presumably by Christians." With a carelessness that marks these erasures generally, that of Pius' name is curiously misplaced by a single letter, $T[\text{τίτω Αἰλῖω Ἀδριανῶ Ἀντωνεῖνω}$, and in a related inscription carved on a pediment in the same theater Aphrodite's name is untouched.⁶⁸ On the north gate of the city, an inscription mentioned τῆς λαμπρᾶς Ἀφροδισιέων μητροπόλ(εως); when the city's name was changed to "Stauropolis" in the seventh century, Ἀφροδισιέων was replaced by Σταυροπολειτῶν, but with the same carelessness the mason made the final sigma of λαμπρᾶς do double duty as the first letter of the new name.⁶⁹ The present deletions of Ζεύς, Πύθια, and 'Ολύμπια evidently have a similar motive; and the mistakes made in erasing the last two are reminiscent of those made in the theater and on the north gate. It is also characteristic that in the decree the words Ἀφροδισιέων and 'Ολυμπίων (lines 12, 26) have been left alone, no doubt because they were overlooked; similarly, the name of Aphrodite was allowed to stand on

⁶⁵ For δῖος as the adjective of Zeus, see LSJ s.v. II.

⁶⁶ Robert, "Lucillius" 190-193, citing this example (*POxy.* 2082 fr. 4 lines 18, 28) on p. 192; Ebert on no. 78 line 2.

⁶⁷ Cf. C. B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period* (1934) 339-340.

⁶⁸ D. J. MacDonald, *Coins from Aphrodisias* (1976) 20 (*Bull.* 1977.459). Professor Erim kindly informs me that "Aphrodite" is also erased in another, unpublished inscription from the theater. I cannot understand, however, the motive for erasing part of Pius' name.

⁶⁹ Explained by Th. Reinach, *REG* 19 (1906) 228-230; cf. Robert, *Hell.* 4.130 n.5, *MAMA* 8.427.

two architraves of the same baths.⁷⁰ The struggles which occasioned these deletions happen to be vividly attested at Aphrodisias. About 500, Zacharias of Mitylene gives an extraordinary account of the Alexandrian Neoplatonist Asclepiodotus; this man married the daughter of a highly placed citizen of Aphrodisias (also called Asclepiodotus), settled in the city, and together with his father-in-law made war on the official creed.⁷¹ Significantly, the three places in which the erasures are known to have been carried out, the north gate, the theater, and the baths, were all actively used in the Byzantine era;⁷² over most of the city the names of pagan gods and festivals were allowed to stand untouched. Another city in which similar erasures were made is also notable as a center of Christianity in the early Byzantine period: Ephesus.⁷³

Line 9 also raises a different problem. Like the Olympia of Elis, the Delphic Pythia were imitated in many cities of the Roman Empire, including Ephesus.⁷⁴ The context here suggests that Achilles is no longer talking about his victories at Ephesus, as in lines 1 to 4, but those won "in all the stadia of the nations." The Pythia and Olympia in which he has won should therefore be those of cities other than Ephesus; but Achilles leaves it unclear whether they include the original games, the most famous of all. That might appear to follow from his claim to have surpassed all his compatriots (if line 6 is correctly understood), since earlier athletes from Aphrodisias are known to have been victorious at least at Delphi.⁷⁵ However, the fact that Achilles leaves the point unclear suggests a doubt; similarly, another pancratiast of

⁷⁰ *CRAI* 1906.172 (C. Foss, *GRBS* 16 [1975] 220 no. 13); *CRAI* 1914.49 n.2.

⁷¹ The passages of Zacharias relative to Aphrodisias are printed by Robert in his discussion of the two Asclepiodoti, *Hell.* 4.115-126, esp. 122-126; for a new inscription of the elder, *Hell.* 13.170-171.

⁷² For the Byzantine phase of the theater, Erim, *AJA* 75 (1971) 178, 76 (1972) 184-185, 77 (1973) 188-189, 79 (1975) 219, 81 (1977) 305; on the Hadrianic baths in the late antique and Byzantine eras, Robert, *Hell.* 4.127-135, Erim, *AJA* 73 (1969) 223.

⁷³ A. Betz, *Klio* 52 (1970) 29 (*Bull.* 1971.575), also referring to R. Heberdey, *Öjh* 1 (1898) Beibl. 76. Cf. *Bull.* 1968.589, on the conversion of the temple at Philae into a Christian church.

⁷⁴ On these imitations, Robert, *Hell.* 5.61-63, 7.97-104. For the Pythia of Ephesus, *Bull.* 1974.516, 1977.419, p. 396.

⁷⁵ The pancratiast Aelius Aurelius Menander won at Delphi in the mid-second century, and was apparently not the first Aphrodisian to do so (Moretti, *Iscr. ag. gr.* no. 72 line 28; contrast lines 22, 27, 30, 31); a long-distance runner probably earlier than Achilles also won at Delphi (Moretti, *Iscr. ag. gr.* no. 80 = *MAMA* 8.521). For a similar problem in an inscription of Ephesus, Robert, *Hell.* 5.63.

Aphrodisias who is said to have "surpassed all the athletes of antiquity in physique" was not actually of the first rank.⁷⁶

10. The two adjectival phrases which constitute the line hang loosely from the preceding couplet, as does the genitive absolute in 11-12; however, the text does not seem in doubt. Opponents, ἀνταγωνισταί, ἀντίπαλοι, are frequent in agonistic texts both in prose and in verse, though in hexameters only the second fit.⁷⁷ These mentions of defeated opponents are parodied by the epigrammatist Lucillius, who makes a pentathlete declare: οὔτε τάχιον ἐμοῦ τις ἐν ἀντιπάλουσιν ἔπιπτεν, | οὔτε βράδιον ὅλως ἔδραμε τὸ στάδιον.⁷⁸ The pleonasm of κύδιμος εὐκλείη recalls that glory, explicit or implicit, is a recurring feature of agonistic inscriptions; an epigram on a second-century pancratiast similarly expresses it by a series of synonyms: κλυτοῦς, εὐκλέες, and κύδιμον.⁷⁹

11-12. On the genitive absolute in line 11 depends a subordinate clause taking an infinitive, clearly a result clause introduced by ὥς, as often in the imperial period.⁸⁰ ἔριν is presumably the object of ἀντιάσαι, "encounter";⁸¹ ΕΚΛΗΤΟΥ represents ἐκκλήτου, since simplification of double consonants is frequent from Hellenistic times on;⁸² δεύτερον should be the adverb, "a second time." The difficulty is to understand the meaning and syntax of ἔριν ἐκλήτου. The verb ἐκκαλεῖσθαι appears in an agonistic inscription of Rome, where it has been variously interpreted. An Alexandrian pancratiast claims to have passed his entire career ἀλειπτος, ἀσυνέξωστος, ἀνέκκλητος . . . μήτε ἐκκαλεσάμενος μήτε ἑτέρου κατ' ἐμοῦ πολμήσαντος ἐκκαλέσασθαι.⁸³ The infinitive clearly has its normal sense of "appeal": these appeals would presumably have been made from the verdict of the immediate judges to the emperor, as in an anecdote of Philostratus.⁸⁴ It is less clear whether ἀνέκκλητος has an active sense, "not having appealed," or passive, "not appealed

⁷⁶ Robert, *Hell.* 13.134-147, discussing *MAMA* 8.417.

⁷⁷ Cf. Robert, *Hell.* 7.105-111; id. *ArchEph* 1966.110; id. "Lucillius" 234 n.1.

⁷⁸ Lucill. *Anth. Pal.* 11.84, cited by Robert, "Lucillius" 237.

⁷⁹ Ebert no. 78 lines 2, 5, 10 (Moretti, *Iscr. ag. gr.* no. 71). For the same theme in epigrams of gladiators, Robert, *Gladiateurs* 302.

⁸⁰ Cf. lines 19 and 34 of the decree. Though this construction is frequent in decrees and honorific inscriptions of the imperial period (Robert, *AntCl* 37 [1968] 417 n.1), it is not specifically epigraphical, but is found in several authors of this era: cf. W. Schmid, *Der Atticismus* 3 (1893) 85; 4 (1896) 87.

⁸¹ ἀντιάω "go in quest of," would give ἀντιάσαι, and moreover almost always takes the genitive.

⁸² Cf. Nachmanson (above, n.33) 92, sect. 2b.

⁸³ Moretti, *Iscr. ag. gr.* no. 79 lines 10-11, 12-13 (id. *IGUR* 240); cf. *IGUR* 239 lines 13-14.

⁸⁴ Philostr. *VS* 2.27.2, p. 115 line 24-116 line 8 Kayser.

against": but since the other two adjectives, ἄλειπτος and ἀσυνέξωστος, are certainly passive,⁸⁵ ἀνέκκλητος should be also.⁸⁶ In the present epigram, if ἐκλήτου is likewise passive it can only construe with ἔριν as a kind of objective genitive, "a contest with a man appealed against."⁸⁷ If that is right, the whole couplet becomes a versification of the adjective ἀνέκκλητος, rather as another agonistic epigram versifies the technical term ἀνέφεδρος, "not having been an *ephedros*."⁸⁸

Perhaps some of the difficulties of the epigram are merely apparent and will vanish when it is better understood. Even then, however, it may still seem obscure and labored in contrast with other athletic epigrams of the high empire.⁸⁹ Apart from the details which it yields about athletics in this period, its main interest is as a counterpart to the decree. That someone should have erected so elaborate a monument to the young Achilles, with statue, decree, and epigram, eloquently attests to the prestige enjoyed by heavy athletes in the late afternoon of Greek athletics.⁹⁰

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⁸⁵ For ἄλειπτος, above, n.58. A new inscription from Xanthos appears to explain ἀσυνέξωστος (Robert, *RevArch* 1978.277-290, esp. 284-286): under certain circumstances all the entrants in a category might be disqualified and "expelled together"; the crown would then be "sacred," that is, revert to the tutelary god.

⁸⁶ Moretti, discussing *IGUR* 240 line 11, takes the opposite view.

⁸⁷ Cf. τὸν θεῶν πόλεμον (Xen. *Anab.* 2.5.7), cited by Kühner-Gerth 1.335.

⁸⁸ Ebert no. 76 B lines 5-8, with his commentary (Moretti, *Iscr. ag. gr.* no. 64).

⁸⁹ For example, the elegant epigram on Aristomachus of Magnesia, Ebert no. 78. However, the present piece contrasts favorably with *MAMA* 6.61 (Trapezopolis); for an attempt to improve the original, Merkelbach, *ZPE* 19 (1975) 301-302 (*Bull.* 1976.632).

⁹⁰ Cf. A. Cameron, *Circus Factions: Blues and Greens at Rome and Byzantium* (1976) 217.

A NOTE ON CATULLUS 106

EUGENE W. BUSHALA

Cum puero bello praeconem qui videt esse
quid credat, nisi se vendere discupere?

Cat. *carm.* 106

TO construe this couplet as has been universally done is, I feel, a mistake.¹ The boy has been understood as subject of the infinitive *discupere*: "What is one to think who sees an auctioneer with a pretty boy but that the boy wishes to sell himself?"

There are two difficulties with this interpretation. Grammatically it is somewhat harsh to take from the ablative *puero* the subject of *discupere* and to disregard the accusative *praeconem*. Kroll observed this harshness but overrode it through the urgency of common or prosaic sense.² The other difficulty is that this interpretation renders the epigram rather pointless. Apparently to retrieve the poem, scholars have attempted to identify the *puer* as Juventius or Clodius so as to invigorate the lines with pseudo-biographical interest.³

Both difficulties are removed if we read *praeconem* as the legitimate subject of *discupere*, thereby complying with standard Latin usage and also restoring to the poem one of the frequent characteristics of an epigram, a volte-face or surprise ending.

The poem's point or force depends on the very ambiguity of the subject of the phrase *se vendere discupere*. The possibility that a pretty boy or girl would sell himself or herself is a *topos* in amatory poetry, but this possibility is only the given condition on which Catullus constructs the irony of the distich. One might imagine, on reading *cum puero bello praeconem*, that such a situation would be presented. In fact, Catullus invites this with *quid credat nisi*. But he turns the picture around in the last three words. The strong verb *discupere*, held off until the end,

¹ So the commentaries of, for example, Ellis, Merrill, Lafaye, Kroll, and Quinn as well as the translations of, among others, Copley, Gregory, Michie, Mills, Myers and Ormsby, Sisson, and Whigham.

² W. Kroll, *Catull*, 5th ed. (Stuttgart, 1968): "Das dazu der *puer*, nicht der *praeco*, Subjekt ist, versteht sich von selbst, wenn es auch eine grammatische Härte ist."

³ So, for example, Ellis, Merrill, and Quinn.

suggests the amorous feelings of a man rather than the avarice of a boy. The *praeco* is the subject of keen desires, and the cause of those desires is the pretty boy. He whose very calling is to sell merchandise, i.e., furniture, books, art objects, slaves,⁴ now betrays his profession and sells himself.⁵

The distich is, indeed, as Quinn remarks, "an amusing trifle,"⁶ but the amusement proceeds not from obvious statement but from ironic disclosure.

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⁴ Plaut. *Bacch.* 4.7.17; Cic. *N.D.* 3.34.84; Hor. *Ep.* 2.3.419; Juv. 8.95.

⁵ It may be that the Roman reader would never have hesitated to construe the distich in this way and that the force of the poem lies, then, not in the ambiguity of the subject of *discupere* but rather in the double meaning of *se vendere*, "to sell oneself" and "to ingratiate oneself with somebody" or "to advertise, puff, or praise oneself." For the second meaning, cf. Cic., *Har. Resp.* 22.46; *Att.* 125 (VII.2).1, and Shackleton Bailey's note; *Att.* 320 (XIII.12).2; Hor. *Ep.* 2.1.74-75; and Juv. 7.135-136.

⁶ K. Quinn, *Catullus, An Interpretation* (New York, 1973), p. 243.

THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE LETTER OF SAPPHO TO PHAON (*HEROIDES XV*)

R. J. TARRANT

OVID has suffered more than any other Latin poet from the attentions of imitators, interpolators, and imposters. The charm and elegance of his poetry prompted emulation, and the smooth regularity of his verse fostered the mistaken belief that his style could be easily reproduced. As a result not only does each of Ovid's genuine works contain a number of interpolated verses, but many independent compositions have in the course of time falsely attached themselves to his name. For the most part this body of pseudo-Ovidiana has been convincingly unmasked, and very few scholars—at least in the English- and German-speaking world—would now support the Ovidian authorship of the *Nux*, the *Halieutica*, or the so-called *Somnium* that has infiltrated the third book of the *Amores*.¹

Only in the case of the *Heroides* does lively argument over the authorship of entire poems persist. Modern editions of this collection comprise twenty-one poems: fourteen letters of mythical heroines to their absent husbands or lovers (actual or intended), then one letter from a historical woman (Sappho), and finally three pairs of letters containing the imaginary correspondence of Helen and Paris, Hero and Leander, and Acontius and Cydippe. The authenticity of no fewer than eleven of these letters has been impugned in the past fifteen years,² but during this tumultuous period the Ovidian authorship of the *Epistula Sapphus* (hereafter *ES*) has been almost unanimously accepted, both by textual critics and also by the generally more trusting literary critics.³

¹ On the *Nux*, cf. A. G. Lee in *Ovidiana*, ed. N. Herescu (Paris 1958) 457–471; on the *Halieutica*, the edition by J. A. Richmond (London 1962) and *Philologus* 120 (1976) 92–106; on the *Somnium*, E. J. Kenney, *Agon* 3 (1969) 1–14.

² E. Courtney, "Ovidian and Non-Ovidian *Heroides*," *B.I.C.S.* 12 (1965) 63–66 (9, 16–21); D. W. T. C. Vessey, "Notes on Ovid, *Heroides* 9," *C.Q.* n.s. 19 (1969) 349–361 (9); G. P. Goold, *Gnomon* 46 (1974) 484 (8, 9, 12–14, 16–21). For a personal view see below, n.39.

³ So, for example, E.-A. Kirfel, *Untersuchungen zur Briefform der Heroides Ovids* (Bern 1969) 102 n.337, "Heute ist wohl allgemein die Autorschaft Ovids anerkannt"; H. Jacobson, *Ovid's Heroides* (1974) 277, "I consider the poem genuine—no courageous assertion at a time when consensus has come around

It was not always so. When Arthur Palmer published his edition of *Heroides I–XIV* in 1874, he could say of the *ES* and the double letters that “their condemnation at the present day is all but universal” and of the *ES* in particular that it “is condemned by Lachmann and by every scholar possessed of common sense.”⁴ Palmer’s opinion of letters 16–21 had not altered when, more than twenty years later, he came to prepare a more elaborate text and commentary of all twenty-one *Heroides*;⁵ he did not live, however, to complete this task, and one of his charges to L. C. Purser, who was to see the work through the press, was “to add very little to the notes of 15, but to write an extended introduction to that Epistle defending, as far as possible, the Ovidian authorship of it.”⁶ Whether Palmer had repented of his doubts at the last hour, or whether he simply wanted the case for the *ES* to be argued as fairly as it could be, is uncertain. Whatever the cause, the result is that the sober and damning case built by Palmer’s notes is frequently interrupted by parenthetical cries of protest from Purser, who, like a defense counsel doing his best for a patently guilty client, seeks to distract the court’s attention with inexact parallels and specious argument.

In the past century the Ovidian authorship of the *ES* has been asserted in two ample monographs and many articles,⁷ while the opposing view has found at best a fragmented and compromised expression in Palmer’s commentary.⁸ In the hope of redressing this imbalance, I shall argue that the *ES* could not have been written until after the publication of Ovid’s *Epistulae ex Ponto* and is probably of Neronian or Flavian date. (It is my private opinion that the *ES* is a tedious production containing hardly a moment of wit, elegance, or

to this opinion.” The authenticity of the entire corpus is also assumed by M. Pulbrook, “The Original Published Form of Ovid’s *Heroides*,” *Hermathena* 122 (1977) 29–45, and (with some reservations) by J. A. Barsby, *Ovid (Greece and Rome: New Surveys in the Classics* 12 [1978]) 13.

⁴ Pp. vi, vii.

⁵ *P. Ovidi Nasonis Heroides* (1898) 436 “I hold very strongly the view (1) that they were not written by Ovid; (2) that they were all, except 16.39–142, 21.13 ad fin., written by the same author; (3) that the author lived in the early silver age, about the epoch of Persius or Petronius.”

⁶ P. v.

⁷ S. de Vries, *Epistula Sapphus ad Phaonem apparatu critico instructa commentario illustrata et Ovidio vindicata*, diss. Leiden 1885 (published, Berlin 1888); H. Dörrie, *P. Ovidius Naso: Der Brief der Sappho an Phaon* (Munich 1975 [Zetemata 58]), with the works cited therein (261 f).

⁸ Doubts have also been expressed by E. J. Kenney, *Philologus* 111 (1967) 213 n.2; *OLD*² 764; and by Vessey (above, n.2) 359.

truth to nature, and that its ascription to Ovid ought never to have been taken seriously, but I shall try to distinguish my low opinion of the work — an opinion shared by some proponents of Ovidian authorship⁹ — from arguments relevant to the question of its authenticity.)

In fairness to the distinguished scholars who have accepted Ovid's authorship of the *ES*, it must be said that the authenticity of the work appears to be supported by a powerful item of external evidence: Ovid himself seems to say in *Amores* 2.18.26 and 34 that a letter of Sappho was among the compositions now called the *Heroides*. Given this explicit statement by the author, it would seem that anyone who questions the genuineness of the extant *ES* must also assume that Ovid's original letter has been lost while a spurious letter of Sappho, inspired by *Am.* 2.18, has happened to survive and be transmitted as Ovid's work. Scholars have been naturally reluctant to postulate such an unlikely combination of events, and this reluctance has tended — as Wilamowitz frankly admitted — to outweigh any misgivings caused by the style of the *ES*.¹⁰

The only other item of external evidence that merits close attention is the fact that the *ES* is transmitted in its traditional position (i.e., as number 15) by no manuscript of the collection. In most manuscripts the letter is simply not present, in some it has been added at the end of the collection.¹¹ It received its present place from Daniel Heinsius in 1629; Heinsius acted on the basis of the reference in *Amores* 2.18, but it has since then been noticed that a twelfth-century *florilegium* offers excerpts from the *ES* between the last of the single letters and the first of the double letters.¹² Now the fact of separate transmission, although curious and remarkable, in itself gives no support to suspicions of the letter's authorship. (It might, for example, have been segregated from

⁹ Jacobson (above, n.3) 299, "we must admit that this poem is not, poetically, one of the best." He explains some of its defects by calling it a parody of the lover-poet, that is, a self-parody by Ovid.

¹⁰ *Sappho und Simonides* (Berlin 1913) 21 n.2, "Diese Beziehung [i.e., between *Am.* 2.18.34 and *ES* 181 ff] allein scheint mir die Verfasserschaft des Ovid zu garantieren, denn weder die Überlieferung noch der Stil des Gedichtes schliesst einen Nachahmer aus." J. Barsby (above, n.3) notes that "there are still some linguistic oddities that need explaining."

¹¹ In the oldest extant MS, codex Francofortanus Barth. 110 (s.xiii), the *ES* follows the *Fasti* (expl. 132^v) and precedes *Heroides* 1-14, 16-21 (inc. fol. 136^r); it is written in the same hand as the other letters (the pseudo-Ovidian matter on fols. 133^r and 135^{r-v} is quite unrelated) but entirely lacks annotation, which is abundant in the preceding and following works. See the edition of H. Dörrie (Berlin 1971) 288, 297.

¹² Dorrie (above, n.7) 52-54. See further below, 000.

the others because it purported to be from a historical, rather than a mythical, character.) Furthermore, it has often been said that the twelfth-century *florilegium* containing excerpts from the *ES* was copied from an exemplar of the ninth century, which, if true, would suggest that the *ES* was transmitted from antiquity with the other *Heroides* in its traditional position and that its detachment was a result of medieval intervention.¹³ If one adds that the grammarian Marius Plotius Sacerdos in the late third century seems to refer to a passage in the *ES* as the work of Ovid,¹⁴ and that Ausonius may have regarded it as one of Ovid's *Heroides*,¹⁵ the external evidence seems very heavily weighted in favor of the letter's authenticity.

But external evidence, however strongly it may seem to support the claims of the *ES*, remains, in the end, circumstantial. The letter, if it is by Ovid, should be able to pass a close but unbiased inspection on grounds of style and form. If it conspicuously fails such an inspection, then that fact must guide the interpretation of the external evidence, not the other way around. What I now hope to show is that on internal grounds the Ovidian authorship of the *ES* is a virtual impossibility, and as a famous investigator was fond of saying, when we have eliminated the impossible, whatever remains, *however improbable*, must be the truth.¹⁶

The case against the *ES* comprises three counts: metrical usages not found elsewhere in Ovid, words and phrases not elsewhere used by Ovid, and, finally, incriminating borrowings from Ovid's genuine works. The first category of evidence is considered in full; for the second and third only a selection of the available material has been presented. Both for the sake of brevity and to avoid purely subjective arguments, I have examined only features of style and vocabulary that can be easily documented. An exhaustive comparison of the *ES* with the other *epistulae* mentioned in *Amores* 2.18 would reveal differences in

¹³ So Purser in Palmer's edition (422), G. Showerman in the introductory note to the Loeb text (Cambridge, Mass., 1913); Dörrie (52 f) is commendably cautious on this point.

¹⁴ *GLK* 6.481 f -this *tertia declinationis*, -this *uel -dis facit genituo*, *haec Atthis, huius Atthis uel Attidis; sic Ovidius*. The comment is generally taken to refer to *ES* 18 *non oculis grata est Atthis, ut ante, meis* (where, it will be noted, nothing is imparted about the genitive of *Atthis*).

¹⁵ *Epigr.* 23.12 f Peiper *quod sibi suaserunt Phaedra et Elissa dabunt, /quod Canace Phyllisque et fastidita Phaoni*. In itself this allusion could have been prompted by *Am.* 2.18 as readily as by the *Heroides* themselves, but the imitation of *ES* 32 in *Prof.* 2.31 f (below, 137) suggests direct knowledge of the poem.

¹⁶ A. Conan Doyle, *The Sign of Four*, Chapter 6.

structure and character-portrayal that point in the same direction as this more purely quantitative discussion.¹⁷

A. METRICAL PECULIARITIES

In three lines of the poem the transmitted text contains a metrical feature alien to Ovid's practice. Ovid is the most regular of the elegists in his metrical form and also the most prolific in his elegiac production, so statements about his customary practice carry considerable weight. In none of the three cases has emendation been entirely successful; in one it is clearly impossible. The first instance is line 32, transmitted in the form *ingenio formae damna rependo meae* (*meo* is an attractive emendation of Baehrens irrelevant to our present concerns). The meaning is clear (although can one really speak of being born ugly as *formae damna*?), but the scansion *rependo* will not do for Ovid. Bentley's *repende* has been almost universally accepted, and is supported by Ausonius *Prof.* 2.31 f *quiesce placidus et caduci corporis / damnum repende gloria*, where *repende* has the required sense of "consider the loss of the body compensated for by your fame." On the other hand, the closest Ovidian parallel speaks strongly for *rependō*: *illae munditiis annorum damna rependunt* (*Ars.* 2.677). (Palmer's other alleged parallels for *repende* all involve *compenso* and so are not really relevant: *Her.* 3.51, *Cic. Pis.* 75, *Hor. S.* 1.3.70.) Once the *ES* was accepted as a work of Ovid, the form *rependō* would appear anomalous, and Ausonius may have had a text in which the change to *repende* had already been made.¹⁸ A decision about the text of 32 must therefore await a determination of the authorship of the *ES*, and so this line can play no part on either side of the debate. If the work is judged spurious, then the more natural *rependo* ought to be preferred.¹⁹

In line 96 the oldest witnesses read *non ut ames oro, uerum ut amare sinas*, which would be improved by accepting Palmer's *uerum ut amere*

¹⁷ Although it is impossible to avoid repeating observations already made (by Palmer in particular), I have given greater prominence to arguments either not used or insufficiently stressed in previous discussions.

¹⁸ It was made in one of the MSS containing excerpts from the *ES*, Paris BN lat. 7647.

¹⁹ So too R. Hartenberger, *De o finali apud poetas Latinos ab Ennio usque ad Iuvenalem* (diss. Bonn, 1911) 56. All but one of the instances of correction of a bacchiac-shaped verb noted by Hartenberger concern the future indicative: *tenebo*, *Sen. Phoen.* 412; *cremabo*, *HF* 1236; *uorabo*, *Petr. fr.* 33.8 Buecheler; *tenebo*, *Priap.* 6.3; *placebo*, *Mart.* 3.51.2; *piabo*, *Stat. Th.* 11.506. The exception is *petendo*, in *Sen. Phoen.* 558.

sinas. The problem is that the elision in *uerum ut* has no Ovidian parallel (elision, that is, of the second syllable of the second half of the pentameter). Manuscript variants (*sed ut*, *sed te ut*, *sed quod*) are no help. Heinsius removed the metrical oddity by writing *non ut ames oro, me sed amare sinas*, but this ruins the parallelism of the *ut*-clauses and so is rhetorically inferior to the transmitted reading. (Heinsius' re-writing is accepted by the normally conservative Dörrie, perhaps because removing the questionable meter will support the Ovidian authorship of the poem; G. P. Goold in the new Loeb text follows Palmer.) No other conjecture commends itself, and the failure of emendation suggests that the un-Ovidian meter is an integral part of the poet's design, not the result of scribal corruption.

The last specimen of metrical irregularity is also the most striking. At line 113 Sappho, who has been thrown into shock by the news of Phaon's sudden departure, describes what happened when her initial speechlessness passed: *postquam se dolor inuenit, nec pectora plangi / nec puduit scissis exululare comis*. The pattern of *caesurae* in 113 (after *se* and *inuenit*, with the opening foot filled by a spondaic word) is unmatched elsewhere in Ovid, and the line is protected against suspicion of accidental corruption by the uncommon colloquialism *se inuenit*, parallels for which are cited from the Elder and Younger Seneca and from Petronius.²⁰ (Dörrie nevertheless takes refuge behind an obelus, while Goold prints the line in its transmitted, un-Ovidian, form.) Even Purser found that this line offered "insuperable difficulty" and suggested "perhaps then the real solution of the whole question is that the work is Ovid's with the exception of this line, and that this line was either introduced or altered in the Petronian age." The notion of 113 as interpolated can be easily discarded; to eject it one would have to remove the entire section 111-116, still leaving an intolerably abrupt transition from 110 to 117. Purser's alternative idea is susceptible neither of proof nor of refutation, but the picture of an interpolator changing the wording, but not the sense, of a half line just to work in a choice piece of Neronian slang seems little short of fantastic.²¹

²⁰ Sen. Rhet. Contr. 3 praef. 13; Sen. Ben. 5.12; Petr. 119.24. None of the eight examples of "non-caesural" Ovidian hexameters cited by M. Platnauer, *Latin Elegiac Verse* (Cambridge 1951) 7 n.5, contains a spondaic first foot. Housman's attempt to soften the harsh effect of the rhythm by arguing that *postquam* is two words (CQ 10 [1916] 147 = *Classical Papers* 935) may be fairly described as special pleading.

²¹ The *ES* also diverges (along with the suspect letter of Deianira) from normal Ovidian practice in its unusually high incidence of feminine fourth-foot caesuras; cf. Vessey (above, n.2) 359.

B. WORDS AND PHRASES NOT OTHERWISE FOUND IN OVID

These examples of un-Ovidian metrical technique ought to raise at least some doubt concerning the traditional authorship of the letter, but since they are few in number they do not suffice for a completely convincing demonstration. The second class of evidence consists of words or expressions used in the *ES* but in no known work of Ovid; there are many more of these, but they are not all of equal value in determining authorship. Any poem of a certain size will contain some words unique in the corpus of its author's poetry, and so the appearance of an isolated *hapax legomenon* is not in itself legitimate grounds for suspicion. Furthermore, words prompted by the subject or persons of a specific poem must be exempted from doubt.²² Even with these qualifications, however, there is an abundance of material to consider. What is particularly striking is the fact that many words and usages in the *ES* which have no Ovidian parallel are well attested for the poetic style of the period between Seneca and Statius. I shall concentrate on two passages with a particularly high density of non-Ovidian expressions. First, lines 111 ff:

Et lacrimae deerant oculis et uerba palato;
 Adstrictum gelido frigore pectus erat.
 Postquam se dolor inuenit, nec pectora plangi
 Nec puduit scissis exululare comis,
 Non aliter, quam si nati pia mater adempti
 Portet ad exstructos corpus inane rogos.
 Gaudet et e nostro crescit maerore Charaxus
 Frater et ante oculos itque reditque meos,
 Utque pudenda mei uideatur causa doloris,
 'Quid dolet haec? certe filia uiuit' ait.
 Non ueniunt in idem pudor atque amor: omne uidebat
 Vulgus; eram lacero pectus aperta sinu.
 Tu mihi cura, Phaon! te somnia nostra reducunt,
 Somnia formoso candidiora die.

In 111 consider *deerant . . . uerba palato*. This may at first seem a harmless variation on *Am.* 2.6.47 *ignaro stupuerunt uerba palato*, but there is a difference between the two, just as English idiom recognizes "the

²² There is, for example, nothing inherently suspicious in the fact that *Enyo* (139) is not otherwise mentioned before Petronius' *Bellum Civile* (120.62) or that *poetria* (183) and *chelys* (181)—words particularly suited to Sappho—occur only here in Ovid. In the context of the view here argued, though, these are additional signs of post-Ovidian origin (*chelys* is a popular poeticism in Seneca and Neronian writers; see my note on Sen. *Ag.* 331).

words stuck in my throat" but not "my throat lacked words." Ovid furnishes no example of this use of *palatum* where *lingua* would be natural. Next, *nec puduit scissis exululare comis*. Ovid uses *exululare* several times, but never to describe normal crying; rather he applies it to the maddened victims of poison (*Met.* 4.521), the baying of Lycaon (*Met.* 1.233), and the shrieking of bacchants or worshipers of the Magna Mater (*Met.* 6.597; *F.* 4.186, 341; *Ars* 1.508; *Tr.* 4.1.42).²³ This distinction had been lost by the time of Valerius Flaccus, who uses the word to describe the weeping of Medea's sister at her departure (8.172). Three lines further on comes *crescit* in the sense "swell with satisfaction," for which Ovid offers no parallel, although Seneca (*Ep.* 34.1) does. The next word, *maeror*, is found nowhere in Augustan poetry, with the exception of one occurrence in Horace's *Ars Poetica* (110). It is a word of Republican prose and drama (whence its appearance in Horace's discussion of tragedy), and, like many words avoided by the Augustans as archaic or prosaic, it enjoyed a new vogue in Neronian literature; the Senecan corpus has it ten times. (Before this it had figured in the pseudo-Ovidian *Consolatio ad Liuiam* 294). Finally, there is the phrase *somnia formoso candidiora die* (124). Ovid does not have the combination *formosus dies*, nor does any other Augustan poet. The writer was probably led by expressions such as *formosissimus annus* in *Eclogues* 3.57 (used by Ovid in *Ars.* 2.315) to try an ill-fated experiment; *o formosa dies* appears in an epigram of the Latin Anthology (474.3 Riese) attributed to Petronius; cp. also Martial 10.24.2 *lux formosior omnibus Kalendis*.

Five usages in fourteen lines for which Ovid offers no parallel may seem a strikingly high figure, but lines 61-70 are even more fruitful.

Sex mihi natales ierant, cum lecta parentis
 Ante diem lacrimas ossa bibere meas.
 Arsit iners frater meretricis captus amore
 Mixtaque cum turpi damna pudore tulit:

²³ Ovid shows similar care in his use of *ululare* and *ululatus*: these words are applied either to beasts (*Met.* 3.179, 4.404, 9.643, 13.571, 15.797; *F.* 2.553) or to ritual cries or formal lamentation by a group (*Met.* 3.528, 706, 725, 7.190, 11.17, 14.405; *F.* 4.453, 6.513). Two passages play upon these associations for their effect: in *Met.* 5.153 the *ululatus* is a funeral lament at a wedding feast, where a different kind of *ululatus* would be expected (cf. *Her.* 2.117, 7.95), and in *Her.* 5.73 *impleuique sacram querulis ululatibus Iden* Oenone's wails of complaint take place where the ritual cries of the Magna Mater would normally be heard. In contrast, in *Her.* 8.107 *ululantem* is scarcely distinguishable from *acerba gementem*, one of many details that call Ovid's authorship of that epistle into doubt.

Factus inops agili peragit freta caerulea remo,
 Quasque male amisit, nunc male quaerit opes;
 Me quoque, quod monui bene multa fideliter, odit:
 Hoc mihi libertas, hoc pia lingua dedit.
 Et tamquam desit quae me hac sine cura fatiget,
 Accumulat curas filia parua meas.

Sex mihi natales ierant is not Ovid's way of describing the passage of years; he uses *ago* (as in *natalibus actis*, *Met.* 2.497, 13.753) or *adesse* (*cum iam natalis adesset*, *Met.* 9.285; cp. *Tr.* 3.13.2). The writer may have recalled *tot mihi natales contingere uana rogavi* (*Met.* 14.138). In line 64 the combination *mixtaque cum turpi damna pudore* is doubly remarkable. Ovid generally uses *mixtus* of things or ideas which are contrasting, not similar (so, for example, *pudor* is mingled with *audacia* in *Met.* 9.527, with *amor* in *Her.* 4.9); the closest parallel is *Ars* 2.570 *multaque cum forma gratia mixta fuit*, where the meaning is positive ("blended"). Nor does Ovid ever qualify *pudor* as *turpis* (*turpique pudore* in *Met.* 11.180 is generally agreed to be corrupt). The inspiration for the phrase was perhaps *Am.* 3.7.72 *tristia cum magno damna pudore tuli*. In the next line one reads *peragit freta caerulea*: Ovid does not use *perago* with *freta*, but rather with words like *cursus* or *iter*, or else with expressions of time such as *tempus* or *annus* (or periphrases such as *duodena . . . signa*, *Met.* 13.618); the extended usage found here is paralleled in Petronius' poem on the civil war (*Sat.* 119.3 f *freta . . . peragebantur*). Nor does Ovid ever combine *freta* (a word he uses about 125 times) with *caerulea*. It might be pedantry to suggest that the addition of *agili . . . remo* ("he traverses the dark-blue seas on a nimble oar") makes Sappho's brother sound like the first recorded surfer, but to see how Ovid normally puts an idea like this compare *Pont.* 2.10.33 *seu rate caeruleas picta sulcauimus undas*. (The unfortunate *peragit freta . . . remo* might derive from *Am.* 2.11.5 *ne quis remo freta longa moueret*, where *moueret* has the special force of "disturb, stir up.") In line 68 *libertas* in the sense "frankness, openness of speech" is a prose usage not found elsewhere in Ovid; it seems to make its *début* in poetry with Phaedrus (1.2.2) and is thereafter found in Martial (6.88.3).

In line 69 the paradosis divides between *desit quae me hac sine cura fatiget* (F) and *desint quae me sine fine fatigent* (*recentiores*). The latter is obviously smoother and may even be the reading of the archetype, *sine fine* having been corrupted to *sine* and the loss ineptly repaired (so Housman, *Classical Papers*, p. 477). This line can therefore play no part in the case against Ovidian authorship, but it should be noted that the version in the Francofortanus (printed by Palmer and Dörrie) is

unlike Ovid in its wording. In Ovid's approximately 300 uses of *sine* there is only one instance of its postponement in a passage whose authorship is secure (*Her.* 8.80 *clamabam 'sine me, me sine, mater, abis'* occurs in a letter suspect on other grounds): *Ars* 2.454 *quo sine non possit uiuere*, where the effect is considerably softened by the anaphora *quem . . . quem . . . quo*. Here there would not only be no such alleviation, but even an ambiguity: is *hac* the *filia* of the following line, or is *cura* to be supplied? In either case the phrase is clumsy and, together with the postponed *sine*, produces an effect without parallel in Ovid. If the letter is his, the text of the fifteenth-century witnesses must be adopted; if it is not, the choice becomes more difficult, since one cannot assume that the more elegant reading is also the authentic one.

Finally, in line 70 the phrase *accumulat curas . . . meas* ("increases my anxieties") uses a construction not found in Ovid with *accumulo* (which occurs only at *F.* 2.122) or *cumulo*: Ovid consistently speaks of heaping something upon something else. The less graphic sense found here is, once again, paralleled in Petronius, in the *Troiae Halosis* (89.48; later, Statius *T.* 4.369). The thought of the line is similar to that in *Tr.* 4.1.55 (the gods) *meque tot aduersis cumulant, quot*, etc., but the expression is significantly different.

When six times in ten lines (seven, if the bizarre use of *agili . . . remo* in 65 is included) a writer uses expressions that cannot be paralleled in the work of Ovid, it may not be unreasonable to suggest that the writer in question is not likely to be Ovid.

C. INCRIMINATING OVIDIAN BORROWINGS

But if the *ES* shows a disconcerting fondness for un-Ovidian diction and meter, it also abounds in verbal echoes and even in exact quotations from that writer's works. Ovid was, of course, fond of using the same tricks of phrase in more than one poem, and the obvious or apparent parallels in the *ES* have even been held up as evidence of its authenticity. In fact these parallels provide the strongest internal evidence that the work cannot be genuine, since it is possible to show that in several places the writer has drawn on works of Ovid which were not in existence at the time when this letter, were it by Ovid, would have been composed. For this demonstration I shall appeal to the principle set out by Bertil Axelson and now generally accepted as decisive in *Prioritätsfragen*: if two passages are verbally similar in a way that precludes coincidental resemblance, and one is organically related to its context while the other is not, the-former is the original and the latter the

imitation.²⁴ Axelson's conditions are met by several passages in the poem, but it will be sufficient to consider two.

Veste tegor uili, nullum est in crinibus aurum,
 Non Arabum noster dona capillus habet.
 Cui colar infelix, aut cui placuisse laborem?
 Ille mei cultus unicus auctor abest.
 Molle meum leuibusque est cor uiolabile telis,
 Et semper causa est, cur ego semper amem.
 (75-80)

Sappho has explained (starting in 73) that her appearance is neglected because "he, the only cause of my adornment, is absent" (78). It is therefore surprising that she tells us in the next couplet that her heart is susceptible to love's arrows and that there is always a reason for her to be in love. The impression of fickleness produced by 79-80 is at variance with the portrait of wounded constancy required by the context. The reason for the incoherence appears if 79 f are compared with two lines of Ovid which between them contain all the elements of the couplet:

molle Cupidineis nec inexpugnabile telis
 cor mihi, quodque leuis causa moueret, erat
Tristia 4.10.65 f
 centum sunt causae cur ego semper amem.
Amores 2.4.10

In each of these poems the suggestion of inconstancy is appropriate and effective; it is not so here, and it is thus possible to conclude that this couplet of the *ES* is subsequent to Ovid's *Amores* and his *Tristia*. (The conclusion can be supported by stylistic considerations: Ovid does not elsewhere use *uiolabilis*, and does not use *uiolo* in this metaphorical sense. Furthermore, *leuibus telis* in itself means only "nimble weapons" and contains no reference to *Amor*; it almost requires the more explicit phrase *Cupidineis telis* in *Tristia* 4.10.65 in order to be correctly understood.)

The second passage in which the writer of the *ES* can be seen making use of Ovid's poems of exile is the very opening of the poem.

Ecquid, ut aspecta est studiosae littera dextrae,
 Protinus est oculis cognita nostra tuis?

²⁴ "Lygdamus und Ovid: Zur Methodik der literarischen Prioritätsbestimmung," *Eranos* 58 (1960) 110. See recently W. Clausen, *HSCP* 80 (1976) 183 n.6.

An, nisi legisses auctoris nomina Sapphus,
 Hoc breue nescires unde ueniret opus?
 Forsitan et quare mea sint alterna requiras
 Carmina, cum lyricis sim magis apta modis.

To show that this opening was fully consistent with Ovid's manner, de Vries compared *Ex Ponto* 2.10.1-8:

Ecquid ab inpressae cognoscis imagine cerae
 haec tibi Nasonem scribere uerba, Macer?
 auctorisque sui si non est anulus index,
 cognitane est nostra littera facta manu?
 an tibi notitiam mora temporis eripit horum,
 nec repetunt oculi signa uetusta tui?
 sis licet oblitus pariter gemmaeque manusque,
 exciderit tantum ne tibi cura mei.

The parallel is indeed striking, but closer inspection reveals that it proves the reverse of what de Vries claimed. The beginning of Ovid's letter to Macer sketches a coherent situation: Ovid is afraid of having been forgotten by his old friends in Rome, and he anxiously asks whether his seal or his handwriting are still familiar to his correspondent. The opening of the *ES*, by contrast, although it is meant to serve a similar purpose, does not make Sappho's situation clear until line 11. Lines 1-4 and 5-6 therefore appear to deal with unrelated topics ("do you recognize my writing?" and "are you wondering why I am composing in elegiac couplets?"). Since the parallels of thought and wording require a direct relationship between the two passages, the less successfully integrated beginning of the *ES* must be regarded as deriving from Ovid's letter to Macer. (Here, too, the *ES* displays un-Ovidian forms of expression, notably *aspecta est* in the opening line. Ovid has about 160 examples of *aspicere*, of which only ten are passive and of which none involves any form of the perfect passive. Nor is it difficult to see why: *aspecta est* is vague, flat, and lifeless — qualities not often applicable to the work of Ovid but all too appropriate for the *ES*.²⁵)

To conclude this part of the discussion, I shall briefly mention some other places in which the *ES* departs noticeably from Ovidian norms of style, even while closely echoing Ovidian words and phrases. (These instances could be multiplied, and presumably will be when a full commentary on the *ES* is at last written.)

²⁵ An attraction to the passive voice may be one of the telltale signs of Ovidian interpolators: *Met.* 8.652 ff are in part shown to be spurious by the use made of *sentiri* and *impletur*.

13 *f nec mihi, dispositis quae iungam carmina neruis, / proueniunt; uacuae carmina mentis opus.* For *iungam* de Vries compared *Met.* 5.340 *haec percussis subiungit carmina neruis*, but the phrases are not parallel, since a poem can be added to the plucking (*percussis*) of the strings, but not to their even spacing (*dispositis*). It is also awkward for Sappho to claim that she cannot compose *carmina* only seven lines after referring to the *ES* itself as *alterna carmina* (5 f). *Tristia* 1.1.39 *carmina proueniunt animo deducta sereno*, cited by the commentators as a parallel, is more probably the source of these lines.

21 *est in te facies.* The change from *est etiam facies* (*Am.* 2.3.13) to *est in te facies* is slight but damaging; *in te* is not to be defended by *F.* 6.804 (Marcia) *in qua par facies nobilitate sua est*, where *in qua* is rather "in whose case."

26 *illa uel illa.* Ovid uses *ille uel ille* (or *illa uel illa*) to mean "this one or that" (i.e., expressing indifference or indefiniteness); cf. *Am.* 1.8.84, *Ars* 1.227, *F.* 5.188. Here it means rather "the former . . . the latter." (The use of the phrase in a negative sentence is also remarkable.)

33 *f sum breuis, at nomen, quod terras impleat omnes, / est mihi; mensuram nominis ipsa fero.* "I am as large as my name (which fills all the world)" is ludicrous, the result of an unwise conflation of *Met.* 12.617 *f at uiuit totum quae gloria compleat orbem: haec illi mensura uiro respondet* and *F.* 1.603 *Magne, tuum nomen rerum est mensura tuarum* (both cited by de Vries as parallels: "ut consimiliter . . .").

83 *abeunt studia in mores.* "One of the best sentiments in the *Heroides*" (Palmer), it is indeed a successful *mot*, much more arresting than Ovid's *et studio mores conuenienter eunt* (*Ars* 3.546). But it is more likely to have followed rather than to have preceded such expressions as *in uillos abeunt uestes* (*Met.* 1.236; cp. 4.396) and *uigor ingenii . . . in alas / inque pedes abiit* (*Met.* 8.254 f; Bömer *ad loc.* cites precise parallels for the force of *abire in* in *ES* 83 "affect, have an influence on" from Petronius 41.12 and Lucan 6.96 f).

95 *huc ades inque sinus, formose, relabere nostros.* The absence of any mention of a conveyance with *relabere* is a lapse (compare *Her.* 10.149 *flecte ratem, Theseu, uersoque relabere uento [uelo?]*), but the tasteless play on the two senses of *sinus* is even more distressing. Both are explained if the author conflated *Her.* 10.149 with *Met.* 7.813 *f 'aura . . . uenias,' cantare solebam, / 'meque iuues intresque sinus, gratissima, nostros.'*

99 *modestius isses.* An unusual expression, perhaps inspired in part by *Met.* 1.510 *f moderatius, oro, / curre . . . moderatius insequar ipse.*

121 *non ueniunt in idem pudor atque amor.* A faulty imitation of *Met.* 2.846 *f non bene conueniunt nec in una sede morantur / maiestas et amor;*

uenire in idem suggests "to assemble in the same place" (as in *F.* 1.395 *di quoque cultores in idem uenere Lyaei*).

134 *et inuat et siccae non licet esse mihi*. The traditional comparison with *Ars* 2.685 *f odi quae praebet quia sit praebere necesse, / siccaque de lana cogitat ipsa sua* is revealing; there *sicca* means generally "sober, temperate," and the specifically sexual sense ("unaroused") is implicit (*siccus* is particularly apt for a matron primly thinking of her wool; cp. *Pl. As.* 856 *f meum uirum fueram rata, / siccum, frugi, continentem*). The use of *siccus* and *udus* purely of sexual frigidity or arousal is not otherwise seen until Martial (11.16.8, 81.2). De Vries cites in addition *Prop.* 2.12.17, but *siccis . . . medullis* there means "drained / bloodless" (because of the loss of blood incurred in Amor's battles; cf. 16 *assiduus-que meo sanguine bella gerit*).

146 *uile solum locus est — dos erat ille loci*. Ovid was fond of *dos* and invented or made popular its nonpecuniary sense of "endowment, natural gift" (cf. Bömer on *Met.* 5.562). But Ovid nowhere speaks of the *dos* of a place (for which Grattius *Cyn.* 252 seems to be the first attested example), and still less does he plainly call a person a *dos*. De Vries, illustrating the generous conception of "parallels" required to defend Ovid's authorship of the *ES*, remarks "pari modo Hypsipyle numeratur inter res dotales *Her.* VI.118 . . . *Dos tibi Lemnos erit, terra ingeniosa colenti: / me quoque dotales inter habere potes*." In that passage *dotales* retains its connection with marital dowries, and the inclusion of a person in that category is the occasion for a pointed expression. Here there is no point and no metaphor. The similarity of the first half of the line to *Met.* 15.428 *uile solum Sparte est* and *Pont.* 2.8.18 *qui locus ablato Caesare uilis erit* may therefore be taken as further evidence of the use of those works by the author.

155 *f ales Ityn, Sappho desertos cantat amores; / hactenus; ut media cetera nocte silent*. The author stretches the meaning of *hactenus* in an unparalleled way: "so far, and no more, is there sound" (Palmer). De Vries compares *Am.* 2.11.16 *hactenus est tutum, cetera caeca uia est*, where *hactenus* has its usual spatial sense "to this point." (The writer of *Her.* 17.265 uses *hactenus* alone to end a letter, as prose does *sed hactenus* or *haec hactenus*; this may be influenced by Ovid's habit of using *hactenus* as an alternative to *dixit* or *dixerat* at the end of a speech [*Met.* 2.610, 7.794 etc.]).

157 *est nitidus uitroque magis perlucidus omni / fons sacer*. In the only place in which Ovid uses *nitidus* of water (*Met.* 3.407) it retains its meaning "glistening, shining" by being coupled with *argenteus*: *fons erat inlimis, nitidis argenteus undis*. (In *Met.* 1.74 and 13.838 *nitidus* describes glistening sea-dwellers.) Here the adjective is somewhat

uncomfortably combined with *perlucidus* (*fons . . . perlucidus* from *Met.* 3.161).

182 *et sub ea uersus unus et alter erunt*. Ovid uses *unus et alter* in either a depreciatory sense ("just one or two" *Am.* 1.8.54, 2.5.22, *Tr.* 1.3.16) or indefinitely ("someone or other" *RA* 364, *F.* 2.394); it is thus not quite appropriately used here as a neutral description of a couplet. (The author of *Her.* 19.238 was no more successful: *causaque uersiculis scripta duobus erit*.)

193 *f haec* (sc. *pectora*) *sunt illa, Phaon, quae tu laudare solebas / uisaeque sunt totiens ingeniosa tibi*. The author coarsely plays on two senses of *pectus*, that of a physical attribute meriting praise for its beauty (cf. *Pont.* 2.5.37 *f non ego laudandus, sed sunt tua pectora, lacte / et non calcata candidiora niue*), and that of a power of understanding, which can be suitably called *ingeniosus* (cf. *Tr.* 1.3.7 *f nec spatium nec mens fuerat satis apta parandi: / torpuerant longa pectora nostra mora*, 3.7.44 *pectoris exceptis ingenique bonis*, 4.10.91 *f ad uos, studiosa, reuertor, / pectora*).²⁶

208 *Zephyri uerba caduca ferunt*. The comparison of Sappho's words to leaves is left implicit, whereas Ovid states the similarity in *Am.* 2.16.45 *f uerba puellarum, foliis leuiora caducis / . . . uentus et unda ferunt*, and does not use *caducus* in a metaphorical sense without making the basis of the comparison plain (cf. *Met.* 9.597 *excidit et fecit spes nostras cera caducas*, which stands in the same relation to *Her.* 16.171 *spem modo ne nostram fieri patiare caducam* as does *Am.* 2.16.45 *f* to *ES* 208).

These, then, are the outlines of the case against Ovidian authorship of the *ES*. Perhaps the most cogent items of evidence are those which show the writer imitating the *Tristia* and *Epistulae ex Ponto*: this exactly parallels both the case of the *Culex*, which purports to be a youthful work of Virgil but which clearly draws on the *Aeneid*, and that of the *Somnium*, which has been shown to depend on the *Metamorphoses* and the *Fasti*.²⁷ It is now evident that the reference to this poem in *Amores* 2.18, which seemed to be its most solid base of support, is in reality fatal to its claims. If the *ES* could be regarded as an inferior product of Ovid's exile, some (though not all) of the evidence against Ovid's

²⁶ Imitators of Ovid found it hard to reproduce his elegant eroticism without falling into grosser expressions: compare *Am.* 3.6.81 *f supposuisse manus ad pectora lubricus amnis / dicitur et socii iura dedisse tori* with the interpolated *Met.* 8.605 *f ipse natantis / pectora tangebam trepido salientia motu*.

²⁷ E. Fraenkel, "The *Culex*," *JRS* 42 (1952) 4-6; Kenney (above, n.1) 11. The pseudo-Sallustian *Epistulae ad Caesarem* have been exposed with the aid of similar arguments; cf. R. Syme, *Sallust* (Berkeley 1964) 323.

authorship could be explained away. In a weary or discouraged moment Ovid might conceivably have put together a tired pastiche of his earlier and contemporary works. But the text of *Amores* 2.18 forbids this recourse; if the work is by Ovid, it must be a product of his vigorous youth, and this, I suggest, is beyond belief.

Having established (at least for the sake of argument) that the extant *Epistula Sapphus* is not by Ovid, I now return to the external evidence to see how it is to be reconciled with this conclusion. If writers of the third and fourth centuries thought the extant letter genuine, that should come as no surprise: Lucan, after all, was taken in by the *Culex*.²⁸ As for the twelfth-century *florilegium*, that, too, proves less than has been supposed. Thanks to the research of B. L. Ullman, Richard Rouse, and others, this *florilegium* now has a name and a distinct personality. It is the *Florilegium Gallicum*, assembled in a monastery of the Loire valley by a scholar of unusual learning and enterprise who had access to a remarkable range of ancient texts, including some, like Tibullus and Nemesianus, which were scarcely known before the fifteenth century.²⁹ The compiler of the *FG* was thus perfectly capable of doing for himself what Daniel Heinsius did 500 years later, of deciding on the basis of *Amores* 2.18 (a poem the compiler knew, since an excerpt from it appears in the *FG*) that the independently circulating *ES* belonged at the end of the series of single letters.³⁰ The *FG* therefore offers no support to any particular view of the poem's transmission.³¹

I come back, then, to *Amores* 2.18. Is it necessary to imagine that Ovid's own letter of Sappho unluckily perished and that this ersatz composition even more unluckily survived? Even if it were, this is at

²⁸ Suetonius *Vita Lucani* p. 50 Reifferscheid *ut praefatione quadam aetatem et initia sua cum Vergilio comparans ausus sit dicere "et quantum mihi restat ad Culicem."* Cf. D. Güntzschel, *Beiträge zur Datierung des Culex* (Münster 1972) 2.

²⁹ B. L. Ullman, *CP* 23 (1928) 128–174, 24 (1929) 109–132, 25 (1930) 11–21, 27 (1932) 1–42; R. H. Rouse, "Florilegia and Latin Classical Authors in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century France," *Imitation and Adaptation: The Classical Tradition in the Middle Ages*, ed. D. M. Kratz (forthcoming); J. Hamacher, *Florilegium Gallicum: Prolegomena und Edition der Exzerpte von Petron bis Cicero, de Oratore* (Bern 1975); S. Rackley, *The Amatory Poems of Ovid in Four Manuscripts of the Florilegium Gallicum* (diss. Duke University, 1973).

³⁰ It is possible, though not yet demonstrable, that the *Octavia* was added to the corpus of Senecan tragedy at almost the same time and in the same general area as the compilation of the *FG*; see *Agamemnon* (Cambridge 1976) 59 f.

³¹ A point recognized by Dörrie (above, n.7) 53, who also notes that the *FG* excerpts do not have a textual character different from that of the vulgate MSS, as might be expected if the *FG* excerpts derived from a unique codex containing the *ES* in fifteenth place.

worst highly improbable, while to suppose that Ovid is the author of the extant letter is, as has been shown, impossible. Even so, it would be well to ask whether an alternative hypothesis is available. For one thing, if Ovid had written a letter of Sappho, it would hardly have vanished in a mere fifty years, and yet, if Ovid's letter was still extant, what would have moved a Neronian poet to emulate his performance? Imitators usually compose works that the masters ought to have written, but did not (think of the *Culex* again).³²

The simplest explanation of the facts is that Ovid did not write a letter of Sappho, and that the references to such a letter in *Am.* 2.18.26 and 34 are interpolations. The text of the *Amores* is hardly a sacred book, and the collection is known to have suffered interpolation in antiquity: the *Somnium*, generally thought to be of Neronian or Flavian date, appears as poem III.V in both the oldest manuscripts. Still, this proposal may at first appear intolerably high-handed, and so it might be, if these lines of *Am.* 2.18 were unobjectionable in style and content; in fact, they are rather peculiar in both respects.

20 quod licet, aut artes teneri profitemur amoris
 (ei mihi, praeceptis urgeor ipse meis),
 aut quod Penelopes uerbis reddatur Vlixī
 scribimus et lacrimas, Phylli relictā, tuas,
 quod Paris et Macareus et quod male gratus Iason
 Hippolytique parens Hippolytusque legant,
 25 quodque tenens strictum Dido miserabilis ensem
 dicat et Aoniae Lesbīs amata lyrae.
 quam cito de toto rediit meus orbe Sabinus
 scriptaque diuersis rettulit ipse locis!
 candida Penelope signum cognouit Vlixīs,
 30 legit ab Hippolyto scripta nouerca suo;
 iam pius Aeneas miserae rescripsit Elissae,
 quodque legat Phyllis, si modo uiuit, adest.
 tristis ad Hypsipylē ab Iasone littera uenit,
 dat uotam Phoebo Lesbīs amata lyram.

Since the text of line 26 has been suspected, it will be prudent to look first at line 34, which purports to describe the letter of Phaon to Sappho written by Sabinus. The references to the other *Heroides* and to the replies composed by Sabinus follow a consistent pattern: all that is

³² "Aber die Annahme wäre zu complicirt, dass ein Nachahmer auf den Amorenvers hin ein Gedicht des Ovid verfertigt hätte, und zu der Zeit, in die Stil und Sprache das erhaltene Gedicht weisen, muss die echte Sapphoepistel des Ovid noch erhalten gewesen sein." (Wilamowitz [above, n.10])

mentioned is either the writer of the letter or the addressee or both with an occasional adjective (e.g., *male gratus Iason* 23, or *tristis littera* 33). In line 34, however, where the pattern would suggest "Phaon writes back to Sappho," there is instead "the beloved woman of Lesbos dedicates the vowed lyre to Phoebus." Now Sappho, in lines 181-184 of the extant *ES*, promises to dedicate her lyre to Phoebus if she makes the leap from Mt. Leucate and is freed of her love for Phaon. The link between the passages, which has seemed to guarantee the authenticity of the *ES*, is in reality a further proof of its spuriousness. In the *ES* Sappho promises Phoebus her lyre if she is *released* from love for Phaon, but if *amata* has any meaning it must be that Sappho has regained Phaon's affections, and that the dedication is a thank-offering for this success.³³ If this line of *Am.* 2.18 is genuine and sound, then Ovid's lost letter must have contained a promise by Sappho to dedicate her lyre to Phoebus if Phaon returns. But line 34 poses two difficulties even on that hypothesis. First, the dedication, whatever its meaning, could take place only as a consequence of Phaon's reply; it is thus hard to see how Sabinus' poem could have described the dedication, as implied by 34. The second (and more serious) problem is that the reference to a dedication has no meaning at all for a reader not already familiar with Ovid's letter and Sabinus' reply, whereas nowhere else in *Am.* 2.18 does Ovid presuppose any knowledge of the *Heroides* themselves. On the assumption that line 34 is an interpolation, these difficulties do not arise. There was no letter of Sabinus, and so the author of the line turned the promise of *ES* 181 ff into a real event.³⁴

Discussion of line 26 is hindered by textual uncertainty, but it may be said in general that if the line is by Ovid, it seems corrupt beyond restoration. Goold has commended *Aoniam Lesbis amica lyram* (with *tenens* understood from 25), to be taken as describing Sappho about to leap, lyre in hand, from the Leucadian rock.³⁵ But the absence of any reference to Phaon is disturbing in this context (*amica* is rarely unqualified, and Sappho had had other attachments), and *tenens . . . lyram* would hardly suggest suicide to the uninstructed reader. (In other words, on this view 26, like 34, is unintelligible to anyone who has not read the letter in question.) Some manuscripts of the *Amores* have introduced a clear reference to Phaon by writing *Aonio Lesbis*

³³ "Her love now returned" is Goold's rendering (*HSCP* 69 [1965] 42). The variants *amica* for *amata* and *lyrae* for *lyram* need not be seriously considered.

³⁴ The relief from the Basilica di Porta Maggiore showing Sappho leaping with lyre in hand (pointed out to Goold by A. M. Dabrowski) is of the same approximate date as that here suggested for the *ES*.

³⁵ *Aoniam . . . lyram* was suggested by Bornecque.

amata (or *amica*) *uiro*, but now the line lacks any trace of Sappho's distinguishing feature, her status as a poet.

If, on the other hand, the line is an interpolation, there is no reason to alter the text of the older manuscripts, *Aoniae Lesbis amata lyrae*. "The woman of Lesbos, beloved of the Aonian lyre" is a bold (and unsuccessful) variation on such ideas as *decus lyrae* (cp. *Pierii laticis decus*, *Culex* 18) and *Musis amicus* (Hor. *C.* 1.26.1; Virg. *Aen.* 9.774). The less well attested variant *amica lyrae* is probably a trivialization of this reading; it gives the wrong sense, for the lyre, if it stands for the spirit of lyric poetry, should be *amica* to Sappho (cf. *F.* 3.834 *dea . . . studiis adsit amica meis*). The combination *amata lyrae* is most unlikely for Ovid (he has no certain example of *amatus* with the dative of an impersonal agent),³⁶ but probably not for an interpolator of, for example, the age of Statius.³⁷ In that case the near echo *Lesbis amata lyrae* (26) — *Lesbis amata lyram* (34) might have been contrived as a form of elegant variation.

Finally, the phrase *Lesbis amata*, certain in 34 and arguably correct in 26, is unlike Ovid's other references to Sappho in two ways: first, in the four reliably genuine Ovidian references to her, the language is much clearer (*Sappho* in *Ars* 3.331 and *RA* 761, *Lesbia Sappho* in *Tristia* 2.365 f, and *uates Lesbia* in *Tr.* 3.7.20). Second, Ovid elsewhere uses *Lesbis* as a genuine adjective, not as a noun-substitute (*Her.* 3.36 with *puellae*, *Fasti* 2.82, interestingly, with *lyra*); *Lesbis* does appear as a substantive, though, in three successive lines of the *ES* (199–201).³⁸

It is not to be expected that two lines, one of them doubtfully transmitted, should furnish enough evidence to prove their spuriousness beyond all doubt. Still, it seems hard to accept as mere coincidence the fact that the only lines of Ovid attesting his authorship of a letter of Sappho are suspiciously unusual in both diction and relation to context.

One last point. If lines 26 and 34 have been altered to introduce a reference to the letter of Sappho, they must originally have referred to one of the genuine *Heroides*. As it happens, of the first seven letters in

³⁶ The only possible instance is *Tr.* 4.10.39 f *et petere Aoniae suadebant tuta sorores / otia, iudicio semper amata meo*, but there *iudicio . . . meo* could be ablative and, if it is not, is a recognizable variation on *mihi iudici*.

³⁷ Note, for example *Silu.* 1.3.99 f *hic tua Tiburtes Faunos chelys et iuuat ipsum / Alciden dictumque lyra maiore Catillum*, 5.1.12 f *perenni . . . lyra* (= *carmen laudem perennem laturum*); earlier, e.g., *Ecl. Eins.* 1.18 *laudatumque chelyn iussit uariare canendo*.

³⁸ There is no longer any need to consider Palmer's deletion of 199–200 ("uncis inclusi pro inani interpolatione"); it is suggestive that these lines combine the substantival use of *Lesbides* with *amatae* (201) and with the phrase *Aeolia . . . lyra* (200).

the collection, whose authenticity has never been doubted, all but one are mentioned in lines 21–26. The exception is the third, the letter of Briseis to Achilles, which in polish and subtlety is the equal of any other letter in the collection.³⁹

The views presented here, especially in relation to *Amores* 2.18, may not find ready or general acceptance. For them to be correctly apprehended, though, one possible cause of misunderstanding ought to be removed. I have argued that the *ES* is not by Ovid and that *Amores* 2.18.26 and 34 are interpolated, but I have carefully refrained from calling either the one or the other a forgery or imposture. The writer of the *ES* may have intended the work as no more than an essay in the manner of Ovid's *Heroides*, and may indeed have wished the echoes of the *Tristia* and *Epistulae ex Ponto* discussed earlier to be noticed and appreciated.⁴⁰ The origin of the interpolations in *Am.* 2.18 is less obvious, but they too, could be innocent: for example, a reader familiar with the *ES* might have tried, for amusement, to "authenticate" it by devising a pair of suitable references to it, and these might have been subsequently thrust into the text by a zealous but undiscerning copyist. Similar transactions have been detected or suspected in other works of Ovid.⁴¹

Whatever their motives, our two authors would probably be surprised and amused — as, surely, would Ovid himself — to discover how

³⁹ Goold (above, n.2) includes III among the genuine *Heroides* even while reviving Lachmann's view that only the letters named in *Am.* 2.18 are authentic. There is no reason a priori to think that *Am.* 2.18 was meant to exhaust the contents of the *Heroides*, but I incline to the opinion, based on stylistic arguments of the kind invoked against the *ES*, that no letter not mentioned in *Am.* 2.18 can confidently be claimed as Ovid's work. If correct, this conclusion would reduce the Ovidian *Heroides* to nine, an uncomfortably odd total. It is thus tempting to take the words *male gratus Iason* in *Am.* 2.18.23 as referring both to *Her.* 6 (Hypsipyle) and 12 (Medea), but *Her.* 12 can, I think, be shown to be a skillful amalgam of two Ovidian treatments of Medea, that in *Metamorphoses* VII (1–132) and in the lost tragedy *Medea* (133–end). The problem of the uneven number of letters may be resolved if *Am.* 2.18 in its entirety described the first collected publication of those works: nine letters by Ovid and six replies by Sabinus, giving a total of fifteen letters probably distributed in three *uolumina*. (Note *quam cito* in 27, suggesting that Sabinus' letters were written soon enough after Ovid's to be published with them.)

⁴⁰ Much the same may have been true of the author of the *Octavia* in his relation to the genuine works of Seneca.

⁴¹ A number of lines rightly bracketed by editors of the *Metamorphoses* are likely to have been entered first as marginal parallels and only later added to the text (cf., e.g., 7.576 and 580); for the loss of part of the genuine text as a result of interpolation cf. *Met.* 7.687 f, which I hope to discuss elsewhere.

generally their work has been accepted in the present age as that of Ovid.⁴²

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⁴² An earlier version of this paper was presented to a Departmental Seminar in the University of Toronto in February 1979; I am grateful to those present on that occasion for useful suggestions and criticisms.

TEXTUAL NOTES ON LESSER LATIN HISTORIANS

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Passages are cited from the following editions:¹

Cornelius Nepos: P. K. Marshall (O.C.T., 1977)

Valerius Maximus: C. Kempf (Teubner, 1888)

Frontinus: G. Bendz (1963); virtually = G. Gundermann (Teubner, 1888)

Florus: E. Malcovati (Script. Gr. et Rom., 1972)

Ampelius: N. Terzaghi (1947)

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De viris illustribus and Aurelius Victor: F. Pichlmayr (R. Gruendel) (Teubner, 1911, repr. 1970)

Dictys: W. Eisenhut (Teubner, 1958)

Dares: F. Meister (Teubner, 1873)

CORNELIUS NEPOS

Alcibiades, 4.1 hoc crimine in contione ab inimicis compellabatur. sed instabat tempus ad bellum proficiscendi. id ille intuens neque ignorans civium suorum consuetudinem postulabat, si quid de se agi vellent, potius de praesente quaestio haberetur, quam absens *invidiae crimine* accusaretur.

invidiae crimine plainly cannot mean "on a charge of jealousy," as in Liv. 28.43.4. The usual interpretation is in Nipperdey-Weiss: "*invidiae* ist Genet. subiectivus, 'welche der Hass erfunden habe.'" That would be beside the point: whether the charge was brought in Alcibiades' presence or in his absence, the motive of his accusers would be the same. If the text is retained, Lambinus must be followed: "quasi Alcibiades nullam aliam ob culpam in contione compellaretur aut in iudicium vocaretur quam quod invidia laboraret." His absence would

¹ I have to thank my colleague, Prof. Richard F. Thomas, for reading and commenting on these notes. Articles on Q. Curtius and Justin have appeared in *C.Q.* (31 (1981), 175-182) and *Phoenix* 34 (1980), 227-236. Another on the *Historia Augusta* is forthcoming in *Eranos*.

give his enemies the chance to stir up *invidia*, which would make up the real content of their case. But can the genitive take such a strain? *invidia*, <*non*> *crimine* is a possible alternative.

Timotheus, 3.5 *populus acer, suspicax ob eamque rem mobilis, adversarius, invidus . . . domum revocat*

nobilibus (Madvig) for *mobilis* provides *adversarius* with its indispensable complement, but *mobilis* should stand. Read *mobilis*, <*nobilibus*> *adversarius*.

Pelopidas, 2.1 *hi omnes fere Athenas se contulerant, non quo sequerentur otium, sed ut, quem ex proximo locum fors obtulisset, eo patriam recuperare niterentur.*

quem Madvig: *quemque* codd.: *quemcumque* Lambinus. Rolfe's translation (Loeb) "to make an effort to recover their native land at the very first opportunity that fortune offered" indicates a problem with *ex proximo*, which means "from very close by" and must relate to *patriam recuperare*, not to *quemcumque* (so read) *fors obtulisset*. Therefore: *ut ex proximo, quemcumque locum. eo* = "thereby." The exiles settled in Athens so that they should not have far to go in case an opportunity presented itself in Thebes.

Eumenes, 1.1 *Eumenes Cardianus. huius si virtuti par data esset fortuna, non ille quidem maior, sed multo illustrior atque etiam honoratior, quod magnos homines virtute metimur, non fortuna.*

On *quod . . . fortuna* Nipperdey-Weiss comment: "Dieser Satz begründet die Worte *non maior* und ist angefügt, als ständen die dazwischen stehende Worte *sed — honoratior* gar nicht da." Pluygers proposed the obvious transposition. But the words could be a gloss.

Ibid., 5.1 *haec dum apud Hellespontum geruntur, Perdiccas apud Nilum flumen interficitur ab Seleuco et Antigene, rerumque summa ad Antipatrum defertur. hic qui deseruerant, exercitu suffragium ferente capitis absentes damnantur.*

Marshall refers to G. Gemss' defense of the paradosis in *Jahrb. des Phil. Vereins zu Berlin* 18 (1892) 83, where two passages of Cicero are cited in support of *deseruerant* = "had not joined." One of these is merely irrelevant: in *Off.* 1.102 *efficiendum autem est ut adpetitus rationi oboediant eamque neque praecurrant nec propter pigritiam aut ignaviam deserant* the meaning is "fall behind" (cf. Ammian. 15.5.26 *nec praecurrentes eam nec deserentes*). In *Catil.* 2.5 *illum exercitum . . . collectum ex senibus desperatis . . . ex eis qui vadimonia deserere quam illum exercitum*

maluerunt the word-play might excuse an extension of usage, but it is quite possible to give *deserere* its normal sense: Manlius' army was raised from, among others, debtors who preferred to stay with it rather than return to Rome and answer to bail. Furthermore, *deseruerant* needs an object, *illum* (Weidner) or *hunc* (Guillemin) instead of *hic*, meaning Antipater (who would, of course, still have to be meant even if the object is only implied). But then the pluperfect is out of place, since it clearly refers to the period prior to Perdiccas' death and Antipater's appointment as generalissimo. As so often, and as Nipperdey saw, a negative has fallen out: *hunc* (sc. *Perdiccam*) *qui* <non> *deseruerant*.

Hamilcar, 1.2 ipse ubi adfuit, numquam hosti cessit neque locum nocendi dedit, saepeque e contrario occasione data laccessivit semperque superior discessit. quo facto, cum paene omnia in Sicilia Poeni amisissent, ille Erycem sic defendit, ut bellum eo loco gestum *non* videretur

Intrusion of *non* into prose texts, though much less common than its omission, is no great rarity. This is an instance. *ut . . . non videretur* is absurd. As Polybius (1.57 f) makes clear, the fighting at Eryx went on energetically until the end of the war. The sense, without *non*, is that Hamilcar's activity made it appear as though the entire war was being waged in the theater where he himself was in direct control.

Hannibal, 6.2 cum hoc . . . cupivit bellum componere, quo valentior postea congrediretur. in colloquium *convenit*, condiciones non convenerunt.

Thes. IV.825.19 ("de singulis") supplies no classical example (not even this one) of *convenire* = *venire*. *venit* should probably be read here. With five *con-* prefixes just before and after, the scribe's error is venial. But in *colloquio* <*eum*> *convenit* is not excluded.

Atticus, 9.7 sed saevissime a nonnullis optimatibus [eius] reprehendebatur, quod parum odisse malos cives videretur.

saevissime is Marshall's conjecture for *sensim is*, palaeographically preferable to *severius* (Malcovati). Two of his reviewers, M. Winterbottom and L. Håkanson, find the word too forceful. I do not see why extreme opponents of Antony should not in fact have censured Atticus' benevolence to Antony's family "most savagely." But familiar as he was with Cicero's letters to his subject, Nepos is likely to have had in mind two passages which refer to censure of Atticus by optimates in the previous civil war. One is *Att.* 11.6.2 *tanta erat in illis crudelitas . . . ut iam omnium iudicio constitutum esset omnium vestrum bona praedam esse illius victoriae*. "*vestrum*" plane dico; numquam enim de te ipso nisi

crudelissime cogitatum est. The other concerns the reported death of C. Fannius: *de Fannio consoler te? perniciosa loquebatur de mansione tua. L. vero Lentulus Hortensi domum sibi et Caesaris hortos et Baias desponderat* (ibid. 5). The use of the word *optimatibus* is suggestive. Applied to Antony's opponents in 44-43 it sounds anachronistic, reminiscent of the Fannii and Lentuli of 48.

Ibid., 17.1 *de pietate autem Attici quid plura commemorem? cum hoc ipsum vere gloriantem audiverim in funere matris suae, quam extulit annorum nonaginta, cum ipse <esset> septem et sexaginta, se numquam cum matre in gratiam redisse, numquam cum sorore fuisse in similtate, quam prope aequalem habebat.*

Atticus' boast offers more food for thought than commentators have been ready to swallow. At first sight it appears a forceful antithesis, making up and quarreling being normally opposed, though complementary, activities. But the two phrases are really synonymous, the second expressing directly what has been obliquely and euphemistically expressed in the first. What is the purpose of this odd sequence? Did Atticus *want* an antithesis and fail to realize that this one is a sham? Is there an implication that a quarrel between mother and son is more shocking than one between brother and sister? Or was he indulging in a verbal prank? There *would* be a valid antithesis if *numquam in gratiam redisse* bore its normal sense. None of these explanations seems quite satisfactory. It is possible after all that *fuisse in similtate* too is an explanatory note which found its way into the text.

VALERIUS MAXIMUS

1.1.Ext.1 *coactis enim Locrensibus ex thesauro eius magnam illi pecuniam dare, cum onustus nefaria praeda navigaret, vi subitae tempestatis tota cum classe vicinis deae litoribus inlatus est.*

eius is Proserpina. In default of a parallel for *deae* = *deae templo*, omit the word or let *aedi* take its place.

1.6.Ext.1 *qua de re consulti magi monuerunt ut se ab incepto proposito abstinere; et si quod vestigium in vaecordi pectore sensus fuisset, * * * ante de Leonida et †a caesare Spartanis abunde monitum.*

Xerxes had received a divine warning not to persist in his plans to invade Lacedaemon. Despite that and the experience of Thermopylae,

he did persist: . . . *fuisset*, <*abstinuisset*, et a deis> ante et a Leonida et ccc Spartanis abunde monitus. et a deis is mine, the rest is due to Torrenius.

- 1.7.Ext.1 Hannibalis quoque ut detestandum Romano sanguini, ita certae praedictionis somnium, cuius non vigiliae tantum sed etiam ipsa quies hostilis imperio nostro fuit: *hausit* enim proposito et votis suis convenientem imaginem

haurire imaginem is an extraordinary expression. I suspect that *hausit* is a corruption of *habuit* (sc. *quies*; cf. 1.7.Ext.4 *illa quietis imago*) by a scribe who understood *Hannibal* as the subject, misled by *suis* (cf. Kühner-Stegmann, I.602).

- 1.7.8 propioribus tamen, ut ita dicam, lineis Haterii Rufi equitis Romani *somnium* certo eventu *admotum* est.

admotum Lipsius (Madvig): *admonitum* LA. *eventu*] *aduentu* LA: *eventui* Madvig. Read *somnus* . . . *admonitus est*. For *certo eventu* cf. 1.7.Ext.7 *consultoque prodigiorum interprete clarissimum ac potentissimum Grai sanguinis futurum certo cum eventu cognovit. propioribus lineis* = "with a closer delineation" (metaphor from drawing), i.e. the dream corresponded more closely to the event it foreshadowed.

- 1.8.Ext.18 quapropter haec potissimum aut in liberis potentissimorum regum aut in *rege* clarissimo aut in vate ingenii florentis aut in viris eruditissimis aut in homine sortis ignotae **, ne ipsa quidem, omnis bonae malaeque materiae fecunda artifex, rationem rerum natura reddiderit.

Various supplements have been and might be suggested, e.g. *fecerit* or *luserit*, but the main difficulties of the sentence have yet to be faced. In 12–17 the author produced six objects of Nature's caprice: a son of King Prusias, a daughter of King Mithridates, an obscure personage with remarkable eyesight, the Messenian leader Aristomenes, the poet Antipater of Sidon, and a brace of Epicurean philosophers. In this recapitulation (a) the obscurity comes last, for an obvious rhetorical reason; (b) *potentissimorum regum* certainly refers to Prusias and Mithridates; (c) therefore *rege clarissimo* cannot refer to Mithridates (or any of the others); (d) Aristomenes, not a king but a warrior-leader, is nowhere. *duce* for *rege* (due to *regum*) sets everything straight.

- 2.8.2 sed ne Valerius quidem inprobe, quia fortis et prosperae pugnae ut non legitimum ita ** praemium petiit.

debitum or *meritum* (Kempf) supply the sense, but stylistically and even paleographically *non immeritum* seems preferable.

- 3.4.2 Tarquinius autem ad Romanum imperium occupandum fortuna in urbem nostram advexit, alienum, quod *†exactu*, alieniorem, quod ortum Corintho, fastidiendum, quod mercatore genitum, erubescendum, quod etiam exule [Demarato] natum patre.

Etruscum (Perizonius) for *exactu* will be mainly right, but *ex Etru<ria>* fits better. Kempf cites Liv. 1.40.2 *regnare Romae advenam non modo vicinae sed ne Italicae quidem stirpis*.

- 3.4.3 ad summam autem unde processerit et quo pervenerit statuae ipsius titulus abunde testatur servili cognomine et regia appellatione perplexis.

cognomine was correctly explained by Pighius: "cum igitur nil praeter praenomen, *Servius*, Tullio adiungatur, id ipsum recte cognomen dixit, eo quod nomini iungitur." Cf. Dion. Hal. *Ant.* 4.1.3 ἐκ ταύτης γίνεται τῆς Ὀκρισίας ἔτι δουλευούσης παιδίον, ᾧ τίθεται τραφέντι ἢ μήτηρ τὸ μὲν ἰδίον τε καὶ συγγενικὸν ὄνομα Τύλλιον ἐπὶ τοῦ πατρός, τὸ δὲ κοινὸν καὶ προσηγορικὸν Σερούιον ἐπὶ τῆς ἰδίας τύχης, ὅτι δουλεύουσα ἔτεκεν αὐτόν. εἴη δ' ἂν ὁ Σερούιος εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν διάλεκτον μεταβιβαζόμενος Δούλιος. Here ἰδιον and κοινόν should change places. "Servius" was the personal name, given ἐπὶ τῆς ἰδίας τύχης, "Tullius" the name he shared with the rest of the gens; cf. Plut. *Marius* 1 (with reference to gentilicium and cognomen) τὸ μὲν κοινὸν ἀπὸ συγγενείας . . . τοῦτο δὲ προσηγορικόν. προσηγορικός means "by which a person is (individually) addressed"; not specifically "praenomen" or "cognomen," as L.-S.-J., citing Dion. Hal. *Ant.* 3.65.6 (Σερούιος αὐτῷ προσηγορικὸν ὄνομα ἦν, Τύλλιος δὲ τὸ συγγενικόν) for the one and Plut. loc. cit. for the other.

- 3.5.4 nam Q. quidem Hortensi, qui in maximo et *ingeniosorum civium* et amplissimorum proventu summum auctoritatis atque eloquentiae gradum obtinuit sqq.

So Torrenius (and Madvig), but the manuscripts have *ingenuorum*, which Halm retained, adding *oratorum* after *amplissimorum*. For me Lipsius' unheeded *et ingeniorum et civium amplissimorum* has a ring of truth, except that *amplum* does not seem to be used elsewhere as an epithet of *ingenium*. Perhaps an epithet has fallen out, e.g. *et ingeniorum <excellentium> et civium amplissimorum*.

- 3.8.7 qui pro Caesaris partibus excubans, Scipionis praesidio interceptus, cum uno modo salus ab eo daretur, si se futurum Cn. Pompei *generi* ipsius militem adfirmasset, ita respondere non dubitavit sqq.

How should he become a soldier of Pompey when Pompey was

dead? Read *soceri*, changed to *generi* by a reader who failed to see that *ipsius* goes with *militem*.

- 3.8.Ext.2 et sane blandum *animum* temeritati casus *facit*, ubi pravo consilio propitius aspirat, quoque vehementius noceat, <in>-speratius prodest.

facit (dett.) for *iacit* is profitless violence; the nonsense remains nonsense. Try *blandum* <lenu>cinium (= *animum*) *temeritati casus iacit*, "throws rashness a flattering enticement."

- 4.1.Ext.6 Pittaci quoque moderatione pectus instructum. qui Alcaeam poetam et amaritudine odii et viribus ingenii adversus se pertinacissime usum tyrannidem a civibus delatam adeptus tantum *modo quid* in <eo> opprimendo posset admonuit.

modo L: *modum* A. The conclusion of the anecdote is evidently defective. Since there is no other source for it,² an effort of imagination may be excused. *opprimendo* (cf. *Thes.* IX.2.784.57) is suggestive. Suppose Pittacus simply clapped his hand over the poet's mouth: *modo* <manu os> *opprimendo quid in* <eo> *posset admonuit*.

- 4.3.4 deinceps et his vacemus, quorum animus aliquo in momento †*ponendi* pecuniam numquam *vacuit*.

uacuit A corr. "Non solum per se improbabiliter *ponendi* h.l. in *ponendo* mutatur, cum praesertim efficiatur structura rarissimi usus, ut dativo gerundii accusativus subiungatur, sed ineptissimum est hoc totum *vacare pecuniae in aliquo momento ponendae*, quasi ad eam rem et sententiam opere et tempore opus sint. accedit vitiosissimus concursus *vacemus . . . vacavit*" (Madvig, *Advers.* II.320 f). "Vitiosissimus concursus" might be deliberate, but the other objections hold good. The remedies proposed are too implausible to repeat. Perhaps *aliquo in momento* [*ponendi*] *pecuniam numquam locavit* (i.e. *posuit*).

- 4.3.Ext.4 sordidae appellantis, sed robustae vir *praestantiae* "mox" inquit "de ceteris, interim velim a sole mihi non obstes." quibus verbis illa nimirum inhaesit sententia: Alexander Diogenem gradu suo divitiis pellere temptat, *celerius* Dareum armis.

robustae praestantiae is hereby declared a no-phrase. Valerius wrote *constantiae* (c̄st- mistaken for p̄st- ?); cf. 4.7.2 *robusta constantis amicitiae*

² Diodorus (4.12.3) and Diogenes Laertius (1.76) merely say that Pittacus let Alcaeus go with the remark "pardon is better than vengeance."

exempla. Eberhard's conjecture *temptat*, *pellet* (or *set pellet*) occurred to me in the form *celerius* <*pulsurus*>.

4.4.3 *uterque enim patellam deorum et salinum habuit.*

Valerius will have written *patellam* <*in cultum*> *deorum* or *patellam deorum* <*causa*>, as in Liv. 26.36.6 *ut salinum patellamque deorum causa habere possint.*

4.6.1 o te, Thessaliae rex Admete, crudelis et duri facti sub magno iudice damnatum, qui coniugis tuae fata pro tuis permutari passus es, sqq.

The only judge that condemned Admetus was the world at large (or posterity), but that can hardly be left to the reader's understanding. *terrarum orbe* is needed after *iudice*.

4.7.Ext.2 itaque pavi invidiam quorundam optimi amici iactura, videlicet quia fructu torseram, non quidem meo merito, gratiam meam, quantacumque fuit, cum his qui ea uti voluerunt, partitus.

fructu dett.: *fructū* LA. The friend is Sex. Pompeius, Valerius' patron. I see no sense in *iactura*. What had Pompeius lost and why should any loss of his nourish jealousy of Valerius (*pavi* comes from *pasco*, not *paveo*)? Certainly Valerius had not lost Pompeius. Read *iunctura* ("connection"). The following words have long been at issue: *quia fructum deterseram* ("because I had cleared a profit") would fit, though this use of *detergo* is attested only in Cic. *Att.* 14.10.3 *sed primo anno LXXX deterimus.*

4.8.1 fundum, quem unicum possidebat, vendidit eiusque pretium Hannibali protinus numeravit, si ad calculos revocetur, parvum, utpote septem iugeribus et hoc in Pupinia addictis redactum, si animo †*praerogantis*, omni pecunia maius.

putetur (= *aestimetur*) *erogantis* may have a slight paleographical advantage over *penses* (Madvig) or *ponderes* (or *ponderetur*; Kempf): *puteturerog-* becomes *p(u)rerog-*. Also the copyist might not have understood *putetur* in this sense.

4.8.3 in Q. quoque Considio saluberrimi exempli nec sine parvo ipsius fructu liberalitas adnotata est.

Considius was publicly thanked by the Senate, no slight reward. W. Heraeus (*Jahrb. f. Phil.* suppl. 19 (1893). 601) claimed to have been the first to find fault with the text, proposing *largo* for *parvo*, which is certainly possible. I had thought of omitting *sine*, which may be the

insertion of a scribe familiar with the cliché *non sine fructu* and perhaps uneasy with the simple ablative *non parvo fructu*. That, however, has many analogies (cf. Kühner-Stegmann, I.411); and cf. Liv. 4.35.8 *ut . . . ruat caecus in certamina, periculo ingenti, fructu nullo* and Claud. Cons. Stil. 1.378 *Libyam fructu maiore recepit / quam peperit*.

4.8.5 *magni animi fuisset a tot captivorum capitibus servitutum detraxisse, quot tunc nobilissimis et opulentissimis urbibus populus Romanus libertatem largitus est. ad cuius maiestatem pertinet non solum quae ipse benigne tribuit, sed etiam quae alio tribuente sensit commemorari: ut enim illic meritae, ita hic redditae laudis commendatio est.*

meritae is Kempf's conjecture for *commemoratae* (or *cōmimorate*). But Valerius' topic here is *liberalitas* ("conferring of benefits"), not *laus*. So read <*liberalitatis*> *laudis commendatio*. Examples of Roman generosity "commend the glory of generosity conferred"; examples of generosity to Rome by foreigners "commend the glory of generosity repaid." Not that the latter were necessarily in requital of favors previously conferred on the donors by Rome, but the good deeds done by Rome could in general be regarded as having elicited good deeds in return. *redditae* has to be balanced by a suitably corresponding participle, so what so suitable as *commodatae*? Not, again, that Roman benefactions were made in expectation of repayment but that they deserved it. The two verbs are often found thus in harness.

5.1.praef. *liberalitati quas aptiores comites quam humanitatem et clementiam dederim, quoniam idem genus laudis expetunt? quarum prima inopia, proxima occupatione, tertia ancipiti fortuna praestatur*

Generosity is given to those in need, clemency to those in danger (of punishment), "humanity" to what? Not in particular to busy people, or to any special category, but whenever circumstances happen to call for it: *occasione* (or *opportunitati*?) Its object is not necessarily in danger or misfortune (take the Roman envoys in 5.1. Ext. 3). Madvig is not at his best here (*prima inopi, proxima occubanti . . . fortunae*), but he was right to make the ablatives into datives. With *pressis* added before *praestatur* (Kempf in app.) there would seem to be no possible way of dealing with *occupatione* (corrected to *-oni* in L).

5.6.3 *cuius testandae gratia capitis effigies aerea portae, qua excesserat, inclusa est dictaque Rauduscula.*

The head was horned, and Valerius is pretty sure to have said so:

<cornuti> capitis; cf. Ov. *Met.* 15.620 *cornuaque aeratis miram referentia formam / postibus insculpunt.*

5.6.Ext.2 quo adfectu inclytum destructae tyrannidis *opus laude* cumulavit.

Thrasybulus' patriotic sentiment added to the credit due for his expulsion of the Thirty. *laude* (*laudibus*) *cumulare* + acc. usually = "heap praises upon"; here we are told it means *effecit ut magis laudaretur*. That would be more easily understood if *nova* were added before *laude*.

5.10.2 itaque qui ad donandos usque *liberos* abundaverat, in orbitate subito destitutus est.

liberis?

6.1.3 Fannio Saturnino

Annio? But more likely *Fannio* in Cic. *Att.* 5.1.2; see my *Two Studies in Roman Nomenclature* (1976), p. 14. *Fannio* has the support of the fourth(?)-century epitome of Paris.

6.3.4 id factum imitatus M'. Curius consul, cum dilectum subito edicere coactus esset et iuniorum nemo respondisset, coniectis in sortem omnibus tribubus, Polliae, quae prima exierat, primum nomen urna extractum citari iussit neque eo respondente bona *adulescentis* hastae subiecit.

It is odd to call the victim a young man with nothing previous to that effect (that he was of military age is of course implied, but there is a difference). Perhaps *delitescens*; cf. 6.8.5 *a quibus comprehensi servi latentis*.

6.3.6 quem hoc nomine reum apud populum actum pater defendit. ita paulo propensior animus puellae ad memoriam futuri viri et fratrem ferocem vindicem et vindictae tam *rigidum* adsensorem patrem habuit.

rigidae, not *rigidum*. Horatius senior defended his son's action (cf. Liv. 1.26.9), but the vulgate is not borne out by the context.

6.4.2 nihilo segnior Scipionis Aemiliani aut in curia aut in contione gravitas. qui, cum haberet consortem censurae Mummium, *ut nobilem*, ita enervis vitae, pro rostris dixit se ex maiestate rei publicae omnia gesturum, <si> sibi cives vel dedissent collegam vel non dedissent.

Sometimes it is impossible to tell whether a factual error is due to

Valerius or to his copyists, but he certainly was not responsible for this one. Even if he did not know what any Roman schoolboy knew, why should he call Mummius Achaicus *nobilis* as though that were a distinction in a Censor? And how, as a contrast to *enervis vitae*, should he fail to mention Mummius' military fame — he did know about Corinth (7.5.4)? Disregarding *ignobilem* (G. Voss), as editors do, add *ducem* or *imperatorem*. *dux nobilis* is a common combination, though the classical examples cited in the Thesaurus (v.1.2328.7) refer to non-Romans; but cf. 7.3.Ext.9 *Furius Camillus, maximus dux*, 8.14.2 *D. Bruti, suis temporibus clari ducis*. Cicero (*Pis.* 53) has *nobilis imperator* (in irony, but that does not matter). Perhaps *imperatorem*, abbreviated *imp.*, was slightly the more likely to fall out.

6.5.1 pecuniam etiam †non ad curiam sed sacraria aedificanda sacrificiaque facienda tribuit

The problem marked by the obelus remains. But it may be pointed out that *reliquam* is needed with *pecuniam*. Part of the money in question had been used for a different purpose.

6.7.1 atque ut uxori quoque fidem attingamus, Tertia Aemilia, Africani prioris uxor . . . tantae fuit comitatis et patientiae, ut, cum sciret viro suo ancillulam ex suis gratam esse, dissimulaverit, ne domitorem orbis Africanum femina †*magnum virum* impatientiae reum ageret.

magnum virum is best deleted (Pighius). Of various proposed substitutes for *impatientiae* the one to choose is <*indecentis*> *intemperantiae* (Gertz), except that *indecentis* is not required (see Kempf's apparatus). In 8.1.Abs.12 Calidius of Bononia's admission of a passion for a slave boy is termed *confessio intemperantiae*.

7.1.2 clara haec felicitas: obscurior illa, sed †*divino splendori* praeposita.

illa introduces the story of the Delphic oracle's answer to Gyges, who had asked whether any man was more fortunate than himself. The answer was "Aglaus of Psophis," a poor but happy Arcadian. The most appropriate supplement to my mind would be *divino* <*ore regio*> *splendori* (*ore* supplied by Halm).

7.2.2 idem negabat aliter cum hoste configi debere, quam aut si occasio obvenisset aut necessitas incidisset. aequae prudenter: nam et prospere gerendae rei facultatem omittere maxima dementia est et in angustias utique *pugnandi* compulsus abstinere se proelio pestiferae ignaviae adfert exitum.

I make nothing of *pugnandi* except as an adscript to *gerendae rei*.

- 7.3.Ext.3 Bias . . . ita aiebat oportere homines in usu amicitiae versari, ut meminissent eam ad gravissimas inimicitias posse converti. quod quidem praeceptum prima specie nimis fortasse callidum videatur inimicumque simplicitati, qua praecipue familiaritas gaudet, sed si †*altior initamini* cogitatio demissa fuerit, perquam utile reperietur.

See Vahlen, *Opusc. Acad.* II.138 ff. I suggest *si altius in <abd>ita animi*; cf. 1.6.12 *abditis delubri*. The maxim should be buried "in the hidden depths of the subconscious."

- 7.4.1 Tullus Hostilius Fidenas adgressus, quae surgentis imperii nostri incunabula crebris rebellionibus torpere passae non sunt finitimisque tropaeis ac triumphis alitam virtutem *eius* spes suas ulterius promovere docuerunt, *sqq.*

Remove *eius. virtutem*, semipersonified, is so much better on its own than tied to *surgentis imperii*.

- 7.6.1 senatus auctore Ti. Graccho consule censuit uti publice servi ad *usum propulsandorum hostium* [*impetum*] emerentur.

impetum (not in Paris' epitome) was deleted by Halm to no good result. Rather follow Lipsius: *ad [usum] propulsandum hostium impetum*. But to account for the paradosis, better: *ad usum <belli et ad> propulsandum h.i.* Cf. Liv. 44.9.3 *ludicro circensi ad usum belli verso*.

- 7.6.2 itaque *Campanae* urbis, quae Punicam feritatem deliciis suis cupida fovit, in propinquo situm Casilinum . . . perseverantis amicitiae pignore impios oculos verberavit.

The city is Capua, of course, but why suppress its name? *Campanae* would seem to be an adscript which has displaced *Capuae* in the text.

- 7.6.Ext.3 ex hoc nimirum hoste tanto duci poena magis quam victoria petenda fuit, quia plus vindicatus [*libertatis*] quam victus gloriae adferre potuit.

Deletion of *libertatis* (Perizonius) is not a satisfactory answer: the punishment of these cannibals would not bring glory. A different noun is required, not *dignitatis* (Foertsch) or *salubritatis* (Damsté), but *gravitatis*; cf. Vell. 2.126.2 *accessit . . . senatui maiestas, iudiciis gravitas*, Sen. *Epist.* 115.3 *quantum, di boni, decoris illi, quantum ponderis gravitatisque adderent!*

- 7.7.1 itaque depositis armis coactus est in foro togatam ingredi militiam: *acerbe*: cum improbissimis enim heredibus de paternis bonis apud centumviros contendit: omnibusque non solum consiliis sed etiam sententiis superior discessit.

acerue LA. Whether referred back to *ingredi militiam* or taken as an aside of the author's, *acerbe* is simply asinine. It seems to be an idle reader's comment on *inprobissimis* ("a harsh word").

7.7.6 ut restitui se in bona Naevi Ani iuberet

avi Kraffert. The cognomen "Anius," supported by Paris (*Naevio Anio*), has been much suspected (e.g. Münzer in *RE* XVI.1568 says it looks doubtful). To my explanation in *Two Studies in Roman Nomenclature*, p. 10, add that there is no need to write *Anni*. The spelling with one *n* is the older (in 4.6.1 the *Bernensis* [A] has *anius* corrected to *annius*).

8.7.praef. quid cesso vires industriae commemorare, cuius alacri spiritu . . . quidquid animo, quidquid manu, quidquid lingua admirabilis est, ad cumulum laudis perducitur? †*quae* cum sit perfectissima virtus, duramento sui confirmatur.

Alia alii, but the only change required is *qua* (sc. *industria*) for *quae*. Though *virtus* be quite perfect, its continuance is guaranteed by *industria*.

8.7.Ext.2 Pythagoras, perfectissimum opus sapientiae a iuventa pariter et omnis honestatis percipiendae cupiditate ingressus . . . Aegyptum petiit.

Delete *et*.

8.9.Ext.2 itaque veteris comoediae maledica lingua, quamvis potentiam viri perstringere cupiebat, tamen in labris *hominis* melle dulciorem leporem fatebatur habitare.

For *hominis*, scarcely endurable after *viri*, perhaps read *omni*, as in expressions like *signis omni luce clarioribus* (Cic. *Cael.* 22).

9.3.Ext.1 Alexandrum iracundia sua propemodum caelo deripuit . . . tres maximas victorias totidem amicorum iniustis caedibus *victo* reddidit.

victo reddidit Pighius: *victor edidit* LA. How did Alexander's crimes restore his victories to Darius? Read *victas reddidit*, i.e., *fecit ut pro cladibus essent*.

9.13.Ext.3 hoc rege infelicior Alexander, cuius praecordia hinc amor, hinc metus torserunt.

Not Alexander the Great but Alexander of Pherae. *Pheraeus* should be added; cf. 1.8. Ext. 6 *Pheraeus Iason*, 9.10.2 *Iason Thessalus*.

FRONTINUS (STRATEGEMATA)

Praef. 4 IV. De transducendo exercitu per loca *hosti* infesta.

So also in the heading of 1.4. The Thesaurus (VII.1.1410.20) records this with a question mark as the sole example of *infestus* c. dat. auctoris, adding "*hostibus* dett., *hostium* edd. vett., *insessa* Oud(endorp)." *hoste* would seem no less likely than any of these.

1.4.4 Nicostratus, dux Aetolorum, adversus Epirotas, cum ei aditus in fines eorum angusti fierent, per alterum locum irrupturum se ostendens, omni *illa* ad prohibendum occurrente Epirotarum multitudine *sqq.*

illa has to mean "thither" (C. E. Bennett [Loeb], "dorthin" [Bendz]). For this meaning the Thesaurus cites three passages (presumably overlooking this one): Mart. 11.98.19, Tert. *Coron.* 6, Soran. p. 97.4. In the first two *illa* has its usual sense (= *illa via*),³ in the third (negligible anyway) the manuscripts are divided. It would be rash not to read *illo* here.

1.4.8 Cn. Pompeius, cum flumen transire propter oppositum hostium exercitum non posset, *assidue producere* et reducere in castra instituit: deinde in eam dem<um> persuasionem *hoste* perducto, ne ullam viam ad progressum *Romanorum teneret*, repente impetu facto transitum rapuit.

suos is needed before *producere*. For *teneret* Lipsius conjectured *timeret*. Bennett's translation, "when the enemy were at last tricked into relaxing their watch on the roads in front of the Roman advance," leaves *ullam* in the air. Bendz is licentious: "als dann die Feinde zu der Überzeugung gekommen waren, dass die Römer keine Möglichkeit des Vorrückens sähen." Read <non> *teneret*, or, if that be too much of a brachylogy, *tenere* <*se non putare*>*t.* They were led to believe that they were blocking every possible forward movement by the Romans (*ne ullam* = *ut nullam*). For *viam tenere* cf. Luc. 5.135 *in immensas cineres abiere cavernas / et Phoebi tenere viam*.

1.6.2 Idem, hostibus tergum eius in itinere prementibus, flumine interveniente non ita magno, ut transitum prohiberet, moraretur tamen rapiditate, alteram legionem in occulto citra flumen collocavit, ut hostes paucitate contempta audacius sequerentur: quod ubi factum est, legio, quae ob hoc disposita erat, ex insidiis *hostem aggressa* vastavit.

³ In Martial *ascendet illa basiator atque illa* means "the kisser will get up by one route or another," not "will climb up to this place or that" (he has mentioned one place, not two).

Obviously the river is a key factor in this stratagem, but how? Nobilior seems to have forded it, leaving half his army on the other side to attack the pursuing enemy when he in turn, emboldened by Nobilior's apparently small numbers, made the crossing. To make this clear, *transeuntem* is needed after *hostem*.

- 1.8.7 Legati Romanorum, cum missi essent ad Antiochum regem, qui secum Hannibalem . . . habebat *consiliumque eius adversus* Romanos instruebat *sqq.*

Here is a strange expression, for which should perhaps be substituted a natural one: *consilioque eius* <se> *adversus* *sqq.* Cf. Bennett: "utilized his counsel against the Romans" (likewise Bendz).

- 1.8.10 Scipio Africanus ad excipienda auxilia cum com meatibus Hannibali *ven*<*ientia Min*>*ucium* Thermum dimisit, ipse sub-venturus.

venientia Minucium Gronovius: *uentitium* HP: *venientia* (vel *ventura*) *Minucium* Oudendorp.

Not much of a stratagem! *ven*<*ientia noctu Min*>*ucium* will help, in line with Appian, *Pun.* 36 νυκτὸς ἐπέμψε Θέρμον χιλιάρχον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄγοντάς αὐτήν (i.e., τὴν ἀγοράν).

- 1.11.7 <L>eot<yc>hidas, dux Lacedaemoniorum, classe pugnaturus eodem die, *quo vicerant* socii, quamvis ignarus actae rei vulgavit nuntiatam sibi victoriam partium, quo constantiores ad pugnam milites haberet.

classe pugnaturus . . . quo Oudendorp: *pugnaturus . . . quo classem* HP. If this is right (Oudendorp also proposed merely to delete *classem*), *terra* is needed after *quo* to balance *classe*. A drowsy scribe may have written *classe* a second time instead of *terra*, thus leading to the disappearance of the former in its original place.

- 1.11.19 Cyrus, rex Persarum, ut concitaret animos popularium, tota die in excidenda silva quadam eos fatigavit; deinde postridie praestitit eis liberalissimas epulas et interrogavit, utro magis gauderent. cumque ei praesentia probassent, "atque per *haec*," inquit, "ad *illa* perveniendum est."

haec must stand for *praesentia*, *illa* for *hesterna*. Therefore these two pronouns, or their accompanying prepositions, must be interchanged.

- 2.1.15 ac deinde, ubi fessum stando et pluvia *non solum sed et lassitudine* deficere animadvertit, signo dato adortus superavit.

Prune this intolerable verbiage by the omission of the words italicized

(*non solum* del. Schwebel); cf. 2.5.25 *tota nocte Romanis in vallo statione ac pluvia, quae forte continua fuerat, inquietatis confectisque*.

2.4.1 quo facto et Romani fiducia concitati *pro*⟨ruere et hostes⟩ *pulvere percussi terga verterunt*.

So Hartel for *concitati propulere*: inferior manuscripts have *concitati sunt et Samnites prae pulvere*. But *propulere* is sound; see the parallels in Lewis and Short. And *pulvere percussi* is grotesque (cf. Bennett: "disheartened by the sight of the dust"); *pavore percussi* is Livian (1.27.10, 3.8.9; cf. 1.56.4). So: *concitati propulere* ⟨*hostes et illi pavore*⟩ *percussi*.

2.5.33 Idem adversus Mithridaten in Armenia, numero et genere equitum praevalentem, tria milia levis armaturae et D equites nocte in valle sub virgultis, quae inter bina castra erant, disposuit, prima deinde luce in stationem hostium emisit equites ita formatos, ut, cum universus cum *exercitu* hostium equitatus proelium inisset, servatis ordinibus paulatim cederent, donec spatium darent consurgendi a tergo ob hoc dispositis.

It is clear that prior to the ambush the engagement was between cavalry and cavalry. For *exercitu* read *equitatu*?

3.8.3 Cyrus . . . malos exaequantis altitudinem iugi subrexit, quibus simulacra hominum *armata Persici* habitus imposuerat.

The genitive *Persici habitus* ("dressed in Persian uniforms" Bennett) is strange Latin. Read *armata* ⟨*ad instar*⟩ *Persici habitus*?

3.9.3 hi Ligure ducente loris et clavis, quibus in ascensu nitebantur, adiuti, cum ad posteriora et ob id vacua defensoribus castelli pervenissent, concine~~re~~ et tumultuari, ut praeceptum erat, coeperunt: ad quod constitutum Marius *constantius* adhortatus suos acrius instare castellanis coepit.

Arrested by the futility of *constantius*, I consulted the passage of Sallust which Frontinus is retailing and found merely *tum vero cohortatus milites et ipse extra vineas egressus* (Iug. 94.3). I suspect it arose from a rewriting of *constitutum marius*. Bendz' translation does nothing to commend it: "Bei diesem verabredeten Zeichen feuerte Marius seine Truppe noch eindringlicher an."

3.14.1 Bello civili, cum Ategua urbs in Hispania Pompeianarum partium obsideretur, Maurus inter noc⟨tem⟩ tamquam Caesarianus tribuni cornicularius vigiles quosdam excitavit: ex quibus ⟨cum tesseram accepisset⟩, *ali*⟨*qu*⟩*os excitans* constantia fallaciae suae per medias Caesaris copias praesidium Pompei transduxit.

The incident becomes intelligible in Dio's version (43.33–34). Pompeius wished to get an officer called Munatius Flaccus into the town of Ategua, which Caesar was besieging. In order to get through the enemy lines Munatius first pretended to their sentries that Caesar had sent him to inspect them. Having thus learned the password, he left these sentries but fell in with others, to whom he gave the password and represented himself as on a mission to enter the town and betray it to Caesar. So he passed through with their blessing.

aliquos excitans for *alios evitans* is due to Perionius and Gundermann. Let the paradosis stand, but it needs to be supplemented further, as thus: *ex quibus <cum tesseram acceperisset, deinde se proditorem urbis a Caesare missum simulando> alios evitans* sqq.

3.15.1 Romani, cum a Gallis Capitolium obsideretur, in extrema iam fame panem in hostem iactaverunt consecutique ut abundare com meatibus viderentur, *obsidionem, donec Camillus subveniret, toleraverunt*.

The purpose of this strategem being to show the besiegers that there was plenty to eat and so discourage them from continuing the siege, it would have failed if the Romans had had to wait until Camillus came to relieve them. According to Valerius Maximus (7.4.3) it succeeded. The words *obsidionem . . . toleraverunt* appear to be a misguided attempt to restore the missing conclusion.

4.7.17 Paches Atheniensis adfirmavit incolumes futuros hostes, si deponerent ferrum; eisque *obsecutis* condicionibus universos qui in sagulis ferreas fibulas habuissent, interfici iussit.

The passive use of *obsecutus* seems to be unexampled. Read *obsecutos. qui . . . habuissent* = "in that they had worn broaches made of iron." According to Thucydides (3.34.3) the entire garrison (of Notium) was killed.

FLORUS

1.6 (12).1 adsidui vero et anniversarii hostes ab Etruria fuere Veientes, adeo ut extraordinariam manum adversus eos promiserit privatumque gesserit bellum gens una Fabiorum. satis superque *idonea clades*. caesi apud Cremonam trecenti, patricius exercitus . . . sed ea clades ingentibus expiata victoriis.

The Bambergensis (B) has *nota*, evidently a tame substitute for *idonea*, which is not merely *difficilior lectio* but nonsense as the sentence

stands. But the removal of *clades* restores sense and incidentally gets rid of the heroic clausula, normally shunned by Florus, thus: *gens una Fabiorum, satis superque idonea. caesi* sqq. For *idoneus* = *capax*, "speciatim in re militari," see Thes. VII.1.230.39. Until the final disaster the Fabii had things all their own way; cf. Liv. 2.49.9 *non ad praesidium modo tutandum Fabii satis erant, sed tota regione, qua Tuscus ager Romano adiacet, sua tuta omnia, infesta hostium . . . fecere*. A copyist, ignorant of the usage, must have added *clades* from *ea clades* below.

- 1.13 (18).1 *sequitur bellum Tarentinum, unum quidem titulo et nomine, sed victoria multiplex. hoc enim Campanos, Apulos atque Lucanos et caput belli Tarentinos, id est totam Italiam, et cum his omnibus Pyrrhum . . . una veluti ruina pariter involvit, ut eodem tempore et Italiam consummaret et transmarinos triumphos auspicaretur.*

id est totam Italiam is a glaring falsehood, exposed by *Italiam consummaret* below. It was only mitigated by Jordanes, who in taking over the passage added *paene* before *totam*. The original may have been *totam Italiam* <*nondum subactam* (or *devictam*)>.

- 1.17 (26.7) <*Spurium*> *largitione, Cassium agraria lege suspectum regiae dominationis praesenti morte multavit. ac de Spurio quidem supplicium pater ipsius sumpsit, hunc Quincti dictatoris imperio in medio foro magister equitum Servilius Ahala confodit.*

Spurium Cassium agraria lege, Maelium largitione vulg. olim. Various later attempts to deal with this mess favor the copyists at the expense of the author. He might naturally have written: *Sp. Cassium agraria lege, Sp. Maelium largitione suspectum . . . multavit. ac de illo quidem* sqq. *Spurio* can scarcely be right, because (a) Florus in introducing the two would have given both praenomina (in the absence of cognomina) and (b), since both had the same praenomen, would not then refer to one of them simply by that praenomen. *Spurio* seems to represent an adscript by a reader in whose text Cassius, but not Maelius, had kept his praenomen. It is, however, just possible that Florus mistook Maelius' praenomen, as does Ampelius 27.2 *Marcus Maelius*, in which case *Spurio* can stand.

- 1.18 (2.2).29 *Appio Claudio consule non ab hostibus, sed a dis ipsis superatus est, quorum auspicia contempserat, ibi statim classe demersa, ubi ille praecipitari pullos iusserat, quod pugnare ab iis vetaretur.*

The Roman people had not despised the auspices, only Appius

(actually Publius) Claudius. *consul* or *cos.* fell out before *contempserat*.

1.22 (2.6).46 itaque fugit et cessit et in ultimum se Italiae recepit sinum, cum urbem tantum non *adoratam* reliquisset

Hannibal all but made obeisance to Rome before retiring. At first sight *tantum non adoratam*, which seems to have baffled copyists (though their variants are clearly negligible) as it certainly has commentators (see Jal's note), is a mere absurdity. Not so, however, in the light of Stat. *Theb.* 6.663f., where Hippomedon's gigantic discus frightens off all his competitors but two: *concessit cetera pubes / sponte et adorato rediit ingloria disco*.

1.35 (2.20).2 Attalus, rex Pergamenorum, regis Eumenis filius, socii quondam conmilitionisque nostri, testamentum reliquit: "populus Romanus bonorum meorum heres esto. in bonis regiis *haec* fuerunt." adita igitur hereditate provinciam populus Romanus non quidem bello nec armis, sed, quod aequius, testamenti iure retinebat.

Roszbach decreed that the words *in bonis regiis haec fuerunt* were quoted from Attalus' will, citing "Inschriften v. Pergamon n. 249" [= OGI 338]. Likewise his successors. The oddity of the tense is explained as "a sort of epistolary perfect: 'were, when I made my will'" (Rolfe). Supposing these words were in the will, why does Florus quote them? They do not instruct, neither do they amuse. Earlier scholars wished to excise them or mark a lacuna after *fuerunt*, unattractive solutions for obvious reasons. Scratch a corruption in Florus and find an epigram: *in bonis regiis <Pergameni>⁴ fuerunt. haec* came in as a stopgap. As for the inscription, it has to do with Attalus' will but not with the point here at issue.

1.38 (3.3).13 et si statim infesto agmine urbem petissent, grande discrimen; sed in Venetia, quo fere tractu Italia mollissima est, ipsa soli caelique clementia robur elanguit. ad hoc panis usu carnisque coctae et dulcedine vini mitigatos Marius in tempore adgressus est. *venere illi* — †quam et in barbaris *multa vestigia*! — : diem pugnae a nostro imperatore petierunt; et sic proximum dedit.

est . . . vestigia om. B. *venere . . . vestigia* om. D. The dozen or so attempted reconstructions in Malcovati's apparatus (ed. 1) are all idle because they ignore the context. The Teutones had been enervated by a soft climate and the unaccustomed luxuries of bread, cooked meat,

⁴ Or, perhaps, *populi* = *λάσι*, a use at least as early as Ovid (*Met.* 7.101 al.).

and wine. Yet they retained enough of their old valor to want to do battle: *venere illi* (*nam* [or *quia*] *etiam* [= *etiamnunc*] *in barbaris multa* <*virtutis*> *vestigia*), *diem* sqq. Or the missing word may be *audaciae*; cf. Plut. *Vit. Sert.* 16 ἀταξία βαρβαρικῇ καὶ θρασύτητι.

- 2.5 (3.17).9 sic per vim latae iussaeque leges, sed pretium rogationis statim socii flagitare, cum interim inparem Drusum aegrumque rerum temere motarum matura, ut in tali discrimine, mors abstulit. nec ideo minus socii promissa Drusi a populo Romano *repscere armis desierunt*.

The illogical *nec minus . . . desierunt* is defensible as “pleonastisch wirkende Gedankenkontamination” (Löfstedt, *Syntactica* II.217). Rossbach’s comparison of Suet. *Nero* 42.2 *nec eo setius quicquam ex consuetudine luxur atque desidiae omisit vel imminuit* is undeniably to the point. But this is not the only difficulty here. Nobody can cease to do what he has not begun to do, and the allies did not demand the fulfillment of Drusus’ promises *by arms* until after Drusus died. We need something like *nec ideo minus . . . respocere* <*perseveraverunt: quae cum non praestarentur,*> *armis repetierunt*.

- 2.6 (3.18).12 fusae Rutili copiae, fusae Caepionis. nam ipse Iulius Caesar exercitu amisso cum in urbem cruentus referretur, miserabili *funere* mediam urbem perviam fecit.

Again Malcovati’s apparatus offers a plethora of unlikely guesses. Rather read *funeri*, referring not to the funeral of Caesar (actually Rutilius), but to the defeat and slaughter of the Roman army; this, represented by his bloody corpse, penetrated (according to Florus’ conceit) into the center of Rome.

- 2.13 (4.2).67 statim exercitus in fugam, nec duces fortius quam *ut effugerent*. non inconspicua tamen mors omnium. iam Scipio nave fugiebat sqq.

Read *nec duces fortius* [sc. *quam milites fecerunt*]. *non inconspicuos tamen mors omnium; quam ut effugerent, iam Scipio* sqq.?

- 2.13 (4.4).79 et in ipso proelio, quod nemo umquam meminerat, cum diu pari Marte acies nihil amplius quam *occiderent*, in medio ardore pugnantium subito ingens inter utrosque silentium.

“The armies were locked in equal struggle, just killing —.” We know what is coming, but it does not come. Florus would never let us down like that. He wrote *occiderent et occiderentur* (-rent’), thinking, it may

well be, of Liv. 6.30.5 *dum iniquo loco, sola virtute militum restantes, caedunt caedunturque* (cf. Virg. *Aen.* 10.756 *caedebant pariter pariterque ruebant*).

2.13 (4.2).86 sed videlicet victoriam desperantibus Pompei liberis, Gnaeum proelio profugum, crure saucium, deserta et avia petentem Caesonius apud Lauronem oppidum consecutus, pugnantem — adeo *nondum* desperabat — interfecit.

adeo nondum desperabat is doubly foolish: first as contradicting *desperantibus*, second in itself. Gnaeus fought with the courage of despair. The words could be ejected as a stupid adscript, but I think *adeo desperabat* is Florus'. Only a desperate man would have fought in Gnaeus' condition.

2.16 (4.5).1 alterum bellum concitavit agrorum divisio, quod Caesar veteranis patris pretium militiae persolverat. semper *alias Antonii* pessimum ingenium Fulvia tum gladio cincta virilis militiae uxor agitabat.

persolverat Axelson; *solverat* B: *persoluebat* C. Florus was a blunderer, but he was not capable of making Mark Antony fight the Perusine War and be taken prisoner by Octavian. His mistake here lay in taking Fulvia for Lucius' wife instead of Marcus'. The old reading *Lucii Antonii*, ignored by modern editors, should be revived.

The chapter is out of its proper chronological order. Hence, presumably, the corresponding blunders in *De viris ill.* 85.2.

2.18 (4.8).5 sed inopportunitate Antonii *et Pompeianorum* bonorum, quorum sector ille fuerat, praeda devorata *possessio manere* non poterat: detrectare coepit foederis pactum.

inopportunitate Jahn: *inportu manes* B. Another much-solicited passage. *possessio manere* makes no sense and the ensuing asyndeton is intolerable. The easiest remedies I can suggest are: *et <quod> Pompeianorum . . . possessio<ne> moveri non poterat, detrectare* sqq. Cf. Cic. *Verr.* 1.1.116 *quia possessor est, non moves possessione* et sim. Sextus, not Antony, as the subject of *coepit* is supported by Dio 48.46.1 ἐγκαλῶν . . . ὅτι οὔτε αὐτῷ οὔτε τοῖς κατελθοῦσι τὰ ὁμολογηθέντα ἐγίνετο . . . ἄλλα τε τῆς Καμπανίας καὶ Οὐόλτουρνον ἐπόρθησεν. Antony was still "in occupation"; cf. Vell. 2.77.1 *paterna domus ab Antonio possidebatur*, also *De viris ill.* 84.4 *rupto per eundem Antonium foedere*.

2.18 (4.8).9 quippe modo trecentarum quinquaginta navium dominus cum sex septemve fugiebat exstincto praetoriae navis lumine . . . pavens atque respectans, et tamen non timens nisi *ne periret*.

nisi om. C. Jal (Budé) reads *et tamen non timens nisi ne reperiretur* (one manuscript has *et tamen non timens nisi repperiretur*) finding “le sens qu’on obtient” entirely satisfactory: Sextus was not afraid of death but of falling into his enemies’ hands and so of being unable to continue the fight. That sense is not to be obtained from Jal’s Latin. Read *ne* <*sic*> *periret*: Sextus was not afraid of dying but of dying ignominiously (*reperiretur* would do as well or better than *periret*, but is not mandatory).

AMPELIUS

- 2.7 *Libra*, quam Graeci *zygon* appellant. *virile nomen est adeptus*, qui, omni clementia et iustitia <Stath>muchos dictus, [qui] primus dicitur libram et pondus [hominibus] invenisse, quae utilissima mortalibus aestimantur; ideoque in numerum stellarum est receptus et *Libra* est dictus.

Despite the feminine form, “*Libra*” is the name of a man: *Libra . . . virile nomen est. adeptus est, qui* sqq.

- 2.9 *Sagittarius*. *Crotos*, filius nutricis *Musarum*; quae *Musae* semper dilexerunt eum, quod plausu et lusu sagittarum eas <*ad se*> *advocaret*. alii *Chironem* dicunt, *quod* iustus et pius, doctus hospitalis fuerit.

ad se advocaret Terzaghi: *avocaret* M: *adiuvaret* Urlichs: *oblectaret* Zink. Perhaps *allectaret*; cf. Colum. 2.3.2 *sibilo que . . . allectari quo libentius bibant* (sc. *boves*). How is Chiron’s name explained by his virtues? Read <*et*> *quod . . . fuerit. alii Chironem dicunt*.

- 8.24 *ibi est Nilus fluvius aere factus . . . cuius facies* <*ex*> *smaragdo limpido, brachia ex ebore magno*

“*Eboris magno corpore, pondere sim.*” *Thes.* V.2.20.43. But a qualitative adjective seems to be called for after *limpido*, perhaps *niveo*; cf. Mart. 8.50 (51). 6 *et niveum felix pustula vincit ebur*.

- 15.13 *Thrasybulus* qui triginta *magistratus Lacedaemonios* tyrannidis dominatione saevientis facta coniuratione adflixit

magistratus Lacedaemonios seems to be a blundering interpolation, prompted perhaps by *Lacedaemonios* (-*orum*) in the preceding and following sections. The Thirty Tyrants are referred to as such in 14.8.

- 18.11 *Scipiones* duo, quorum alter prior *Africanus* qui *Hannibalem* et in eo *Africam* debellavit; alter *Scipio minor Numantinus* qui *Carthaginem* et *Numantiam* diruendo [et] in hac *Africam* in illa *Hispaniam* fregit.

Originally something like *alter minor Africanus et Numantinus. Scipio* is clearly interpolated, like *Cato* in 19.8.

- 19.9 Cato Praetorius qui bello civili partes Pompei secutus mori maluit quam superstes esse rei <publicae> *servienti*.

Delete *servienti*.

- 30.2 quod ubi <Camby>si nuntiatum est, regredi in patriam maturans oblitus est gladium quo Apin interfecerat vaginae reddere; quod cum conaretur efficere, femem suum vulneravit *et eam partem quam Apin vulneraverat*.

ex ea parte Zink. Better *in eam partem*; cf. Caes. *B. G.* 5.35.8 *in adversum os funda vulneratur*, Eutr. 7.18.5 *stercore in vultum et pectus ab omnibus obviis adpetitus* et sim. For *quam* the former vulgate *qua* should be restored (or *in quam*).

EUTROPIUS

- 6.25 praecipui fuerunt inter coniuratos duo Bruti ex *eo* genere Bruti, qui primus Romae consul fuerat

Read *eius*.

- 9.7 Hinc Licinianus Valerianus . . . imperator et mox Augustus est factus. Gallienus *quoque Romae* a senatu Caesar est appellatus.

Read *Gallienus quoque <filius> Romae*; cf. 9.18.1 *is confestim Carinum et Numerianum filios Caesares fecit*, et sim.

ORIGO GENTIS ROMANAE

- 13.3 cumque cognovisset Aeneam et Anchisen bello patria pulsos . . . sedem quaerere, amicitiam foedere inisse dato invicem iureiurando, ut communes *quosque* hostes amicosve haberent.

quosque o: *quoque* p: *utrique* Sylburg. Read *quique* (= *utrique*).

DE VIRIBUS ILLUSTRIBUS

- 2.2 ex quibus cum una pulcherrima cum magna omnium admiratione *duceretur*, *Talassio* eam duci responsum est.

A civil answer deserves a question: *cum . . . duceretur*, <*quaerentibus cuinam duceretur*>, *Talassio* sqq. Cf. Liv. 1.9.12 *unam longe ante alias insignem specie ac pulchritudine a globo Talassii cuiusdam raptam ferunt*,

multisque sciscitantibus cuinam eam ferrent identidem, ne quis violaret, Talassio ferri clamitatum.

12.3 apprehensus et ad regem pertractus *dextram aris* imposuit.

⟨*incensis*⟩ *aris*? Cf. Liv. 2.12.13 *dextramque accenso ad sacrificium foculo inicit.*

51.1 Quintus Flaminius . . . regem Philippum proelio fudit, castris exiit. filium eius Demetrium obsidem accepit, *quem* pecunia mulctatum in regnum restituit.

quem] *regem* Damsté. Easier simply to omit.

AURELIUS VICTOR

4.11 et sane in id progressa mulier erat, uti animi ac pellicum gratia marito Ostiam profecto Romae nuptias cum altero frequentaret; et hinc notior, dum mirum videtur apud imperatorem *viro* quam imperatori nuptam esse.

viro Opitz: *uirum* op. The epitomator has a similarly sounding phrase which he uses about Messalina but in a different connection: 4.5 *quod si quis talia horruerat, afficto crimine in ipsum omnemque familiam saeviebatur, ut magis videretur sub imperatore viro quam imperatori nupta esse.* He would seem to have meant *ut magis videretur imperare viro* but to have somehow been befogged by the nonsense in Victor's text. This is transformable into sense by restoring the paradosis *virum* and adding thereafter *alii viro*: "that in the house of her imperial husband she should have married another husband who was not the Emperor." Messalina's marriage to a new husband in the home of the old one would have been remarkable anyway, but the fact that the latter was Emperor made it more so.

4.13 quae † quamvis superiore *absurdior haberetur idcircoque* paria extimesceret, veneno coniugem interemit.

absurdior is absurd. Why did Agrippina fear Messalina's fate? Obviously because she was guilty of the same offence, adultery, although she was generally considered — what? Obviously, a less flagrant offender: *quae, quamvis abstinentior haberetur, ⟨cum adulterii conscia esset⟩ idcircoque* sqq. For *abstinentior* (becoming *abstior*?) "de Venere" see *Thes.* I.198.9. For fear as Agrippina's motive for the murder cf. Suet. *Claud.* 43 *siquidem commemorantibus libertis ac laudantibus cognitionem qua pridie quandam adulterii ream condemnarat, sibi quoque*

in fatis esse iactavit omnia impudica sed non impunita matrimonia and 44.1 *non multoque post testamentum etiam conscripsit . . . prius igitur quam ultra progredetur, praeventus est ab Agrippina, quam praeter haec conscientia quoque nec minus delatores multorum criminum urgebant*; also Tac. Ann. 12.66 *quamquam ne impudicitiam quidem nunc abesse Pallante adultero*.

16.13 *triumphi acti ex nationibus, quae regi Marcomaro ab usque urbe Pannoniae, cui Carnuto nomen est, ad media Gallorum protendebantur*.

Read *rege*.

20.8 *Pescennium Nigrum apud Cyzicenos, Clodium Albinum Lugduni victos coegit mori . . . horum infinita caede crudelior habitus*

The words omitted merely summarize the careers of the two persons. But how do you make an unbounded slaughter of two persons? Read *horum* <*partium*>. Cf. Herodian 3.8.1 ὁ δὲ Σεουήρος θυμῷ καὶ ὀργῇ εὐθέως πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Ῥώμῃ φίλους αὐτοῦ (sc. Ἀλβίνου) ἐχρήτο and 3.4.7 ὁ δὲ Σεουήρος καθελὼν τὸν Νίγρον, τοὺς μὲν φίλους αὐτοῦ καὶ εἴ τινες οὐ μόνον ἐκ προαιρέσεως ἀλλὰ δι' ἀνάγκης προσέθεντο αὐτῷ, πάντας ἀφειδῶς ἐκόλασε. Also *Hist. Aug. Sev.* 9.6 *in multos saeve animadvertit . . . qui Nigrum fuerant secuti* and 12.1 *interfectis innumeris Albini partium viris*. Similarly Dio (Xiphilin) 75.8.3, 76.7.4.

24.6 *adhuc Domitium Ulpianum . . . eodem honore retinens Paulloque inter exordia patriae redito, iuris auctoribus, quantus erga optimos atque aequi studio esset, edocuit*.

Read *quanto* (*quanto studio erga optimos et quanto studio aequi esset*).

33.11 *hinc denique ioculariter dictum nequaquam mirum videri, si rem Romanam Marius reficere contenderet, quam Marius eiusdem artis auctor stirpisque ac nominis solidavisset*.

The point of this rather sorry jest lies in the literal and metaphorical meanings of *reficere* and *solidavisset*. It would be ruined if Marius of Arpinum actually had been a smith, like his unworthy namesake; nor are we told so anywhere else. Read *quam* [*Marius eiusdem artis*] *auctor stirpis* [*que*] *ac nominis*. A misguided annotator must have caused the trouble.⁵

33.21 *teloque traicitur, cuiusnam per tenebras incertum. ita auctoris necis errore an quia bono publico acciderat, inulta caedes fuit*.

⁵ "Interpolations and glosses are particularly liable to be found in manuscripts of the Epitomes and Chronicles of late antiquity, which were often compared with and supplemented from one another" (A. Cameron, C.R. 15 [1965], 20).

necis errore Gruter: *necis nec rore op: necisne errore* Schott. *necis* would be best away — perhaps added in explanation of *auctoris*.

39.2 quippe qui primus ex auro veste quaesita serici ac *purpurae gemmarumque vim plantis concupiverit* (sc. Diocletianus).

The epitomator erroneously puts a corresponding passage into his section on Aurelian (35.5): *iste primus apud Romanos diadema capiti innexuit, gemmisque et aurata omni veste, quod adhuc fere incognitum Romanis moribus visebatur, usus est* (read *gemmisque* <*ornata*>?).

In Victor much is amiss. Emperors do not covet things, whether for their feet or their heads; they wear what they want. Read *conculcaverit*. It is conceivable that the soles of Diocletian's shoes "were studded with the most precious gems" (Gibbon), but not that they consisted of silk and purple. *serici ac purpurae* must refer to clothing (Gibbon again: "The sumptuous robes of Diocletian and his successors were of silk and gold"). But there would have been nothing unprecedented about a Roman emperor in silk and purple. According to *Historia Augusta* (*Heliog.* 26.1) Elagabalus was the first Roman to wear an all-silk robe (*holoserica vestis*). The same source records of Alexander Severus (40.1): *vestes sericas ipse raras habuit: holosericam numquam induit, subsericam numquam donavit*. But it is specially observed of Aurelian (45.4) that he had no all-silk robe in his wardrobe — evidently by that time an unusual deficiency. Diocletian's innovation was to wear cloth of gold instead: *qui . . . serici ac purpurae* <*usum contempserit*> *gemmarumque vim plantis conculcaverit*.

39.13 Aprum proxime astantem ictu transegit . . . ceteris venia data retentique *hostium* fere omnes ac maxime vir insignis nomine Aristobulus praefectus praetorio per officia sua.

Nothing has been said about Diocletian's enemies. *ceteris* are the conspirators against Numerian, all of whose lives, Aper's excepted, were spared and almost all of whom were continued in their employments. Delete *hostium*, possibly the relic of a gloss *in officiis*.

39.44 neque minore studio pacis officia vineta legibus aequissimis ac remoto pestilenti frumentariorum genere, quorum nunc agentes rerum simillimi sunt.

Remove *ac*.

DICTYS

1.16 interim belli studio ardebat omnis Graecia: arma, tela, equi, *naves atque* haec omnia toto biennio praeparantur.

Something seems to have dropped out between *naves* and *atque*, e.g. *colliguntur*.

Ibid. *ne multa milia exercituum*, undique versum in unum *collecta*, incuria navigandi *tardarentur*.

exercituum = *militum*, listed in the Thesaurus (V.2.1394.47) as unique, abuses credulity. The paradosis *tardaretur* suggests <*ad*> *multa milia exercitus* . . . *collectus* (*multis milibus* or *multorum milium* would serve as well as far as Latinity is concerned); cf. Sulp. Sev. *Chr.* 1.44.4 *ex his ad trecenta milia paravit exercitum*.

1.18 *igitur inter tantum classium apparatus equi atque currus bellici ob locorum conditionem multi, sed pedestres milites pars maxima, ob eam causam, quia per omnem Graeciam multo maiore egestate pabuli, equitatus usus prohibetur*.

Read *pro locorum conditione* and *multo maiore* <*ex parte*>, removing the comma after *pabuli*. And *classicum*?

1.22 *sed cum haec in luco aguntur, Achilles litteras seorsum missas sibi a Clytemnestra cum auri magno pondere accepit, in quis ei filiam atque omnem domum suam commendaverat. quae postquam et Ulixis consilium patefactum est, omissis omnibus propere ad lucum pergit, magna voce Menelaum et qui cum eo erant, inclamans, ab inquietudine Iphigeniae cohiberent sese, comminatus perniciem, ni paruissent*.

quae] *quas* E (ex *quae*), P. Clytemnestra's letter revealed the false story of Iphigenia's betrothal to Achilles and thus enabled him to guess Ulysses' plan. So R. M. Frazer (*The Trojan War*) renders: "when he had read the letter, he realized the scheme of Ulysses." In place of *quae* (impossible anyway) read *quis*, or possibly *qua re*.

2.15 *igitur a cunctis Graecis veluti publicum funus eius crematum igni, aureo vasculo sepultum est*

The solution here occurred to me in the form *funus* <*curatum, corpus*> *eius crematum*. Erwin Rohde had already proposed *funus eius* <*curatum, corpus*> *crematum* (*Philol.* 32 [1873]. 749).

3.3 *dein Achilles soluturum se omne bellum pro Polyxena tradita pollicetur. tum Hector: aut prodicionem ab eo confirmandam, aut filios Plisthenis atque Aiace[m] interficiendos: alias de tali negotio nihil se auditurum*.

A strange alternative! What kind of confirmation of Achilles' promise did Hector expect and why suggest *any* alternative? Read *ad prodicionem ab eo confirmandam filios . . . interficiendos*.

- 3.23 Hectorem supergressum humanitatis modum, Patroclum eripere proelio ausum, scilicet ad inludendum ac foedandum cadaver eius: quod exemplum poenis ac suppliciis eorum eluendum, ut Graeci ac reliquae posthac gentes memores ultionis eius *moremque* humanae condicionis tuerentur. non *enim* Helenae neque Menelai gratia exercitum relictis sedibus parvulisque procul ab domo, cruentum suo hostilique sanguine inter ipsa belli discrimina huiusmodi militiam tolerare, sed cupere dinoscere, barbarine Graecine summa rerum potirentur.

Part of Achilles' address to Priam. For syntax' sake the copula should disappear from *moremque*, unless it be preferable to read *memoriam* for *memores*. The second sentence having no causal connection with the first, *autem* should replace *enim*, unless *enim* is equivalent to *autem* (cf. *Thes.* V.2.590.65), which I much doubt.

- 4.4 at sequenti die Memnon, Tithoni atque Aurorae filius ingentibus Indorum atque Aethiopum copiis supervenit, magna fama, quippe in unum multis milibus armatis vario genere spes etiam votaue de se Priami superaverat.

contractis vel sim. seems to have dropped out somewhere between *unum* and *spes*.

- 4.11 interim Alexander compositis iam cum Deiphobo insidiis pugionem cinctus ad Achillem ingreditur confirmator veluti eorum, quae Priamus pollicebatur moxque ad aram, quo ne hostis dolum persentisceret aversusque a *duce*, adsistit.

duce = *Achille* is hardly tolerable after *hostis* = *Achillis*. Perhaps *luce*. Paris lurks in the shadows.

- 4.22 cuncti procures seditionem adversus Priamum extollunt atque *eius regulos*.

Priam's sons are often referred to as *reguli* but not elsewhere as Priam's *reguli*. Read *eius* <*filios*> *regulos*?

DARES

- 5 Antenor, ut Priamus imperavit, navim conscendit et profectus venit Magnesiam ad Peleum: quem Peleus hospitio triduo recepit, die quarto rogat eum, quid venerit. Antenor dicit quae a Priamo mandata erant, ut Graios postularet, ut Hesiona redderetur. haec ubi Peleus audivit, graviter tulit et quod haec ad se *pertinere videbat*, iubet eum de finibus suis discedere.

The brothers Peleus and Telamon had assisted Hercules to capture

Troy. Telamon was rewarded with King Laomedon's daughter Hesione, whose restoration was now demanded by Priam's envoy. Peleus' natural reaction would be: "Telamon has the girl, not I. Go and address yourself to him." And that is what Antenor did.

The paradosis will not do. Peleus would not dismiss Antenor "because he saw that this concerned himself," but because he did not propose to interfere with what concerned his brother. Moreover, *quod . . . videbat* evidently refers to Peleus' answer to Antenor, which is what the reader expects to be told, not to an interior motive. So below: *Telamon Antenori respondit nihil a se Priamo factum, sed quod virtutis causa sibi donatum sit se nemini daturum*. Read *pertinere* <non> *videbat* or *pertinere negabat*.

- 8 Priamus Alexandrum et Deiphobum in Paeoniam misit, ut milites legerent. ad concionem populum venire iubet, *commonefecit filios, ut maiores natu minoribus imperarent*, monstravit quas iniurias Graeci Troanis fecissent.

In Chapter 6 Priam calls a meeting of his sons, which concludes in Chapter 7 with a decision to prepare a fleet and set out for Greece. Paris and Deiphobus are then dispatched on their mission. Then he summons a general assembly.

commonefecit . . . imperarent belongs to the first meeting, not the second, and should stand between *Priamus* and *Alexandrum*.

- 15 et eo tempore venerat Calchas Thestore natus divinus. dona pro Phrygibus a suo populo missus Apollini portabat, simul consuluit de regno rebusque suis. huic ex adyto respondetur, ut cum Argivorum classe militum contra Troianos proficiscatur eosque sua intellegentia iuvet, neve inde prius *discedant*, quam Troia capta sit.

Calchas was not consulting the oracle on behalf of the Greeks but *de regno rebusque suis*. Accordingly, read *discedat* with F.

- 22 Agamemnon ut vidit multa milia cotidie occidi neque *sufficere mortuos* sine intermissione funerari, misit legatos Ulixen et Diomedem ad Priamum, ut indutias in triennium peterent.

Cf. 31 *Agamemnon ut vidit maiorem partem exercitus se cotidie amittere nec sufficere posse, petit indutias in sex menses*. This suggests *neque sufficere* <*se posse*>, *mortuos* sqq. Better, however: *neque sufficere* <*vivos*>, *mortuos* sqq.

- 22 Ulixes et Diomedes noctu ad Priamum vadunt [legati]. occurrit illis ex Troianis Dolon. qui cum interrogaret, quid ita armati noctu ad oppidum venissent, dixerunt se ab Agamemnone legatos ad Priamum

missos. quos ut audivit Priamus venisse et desiderium suum *exposuisse*, in consilium omnes duces convocat

To whom would the envoys tell their business but Priam himself?
Read *exposuerunt*.

- 37 Antenor . . . suadet potius esse, ut Helena his reddatur et ea quae Alexander cum sociis abstulerat et pax fiat. *postquam multis verbis* de pace concilianda *egerunt*, surgit Amphimachus

multa verba G. *egerunt* Meister: *satisfecerunt* L: *fecerunt* G. Obviously a subject for *egerunt* has to be found; as *postquam* <multi> *multis verbis* . . . *egerunt*. Better, however, to follow G: *postquam* <multi> *multa verba* . . . *fecerunt*.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

SUETONIUS' LIFE OF VIRGIL: THE PRESENT STATE OF THE QUESTION

H. NAUMANN

THE Virgil Vita of Donatus' commentary¹ is the Vita written by Suetonius. This is proved by the following facts:

(1) At the end of the Terence Vita we read: *haec Suetonius Tranquillus*, and it is difficult to see, let alone to show reason, why Donatus should not have followed Suetonius in the Vita of Virgil as he did in that of Terence.

(2) The dedicatory Letter names as sources several commentaries (*inspectis fere omnibus ante me qui in Vergilii opere calluerunt*), but not several Lives. There were no such Lives.² All the Lives of Roman poets go back to Suetonius.³

(3) Donatus states explicitly that he would follow his sources verbatim: *maluimus optima fide quorum res fuerant eorum etiam uerba seruare*. Obviously he would, in accordance with contemporary custom and with his own practice in the Letter as well as in the introduction to the Eclogues and in the Terence commentary, not mention their names.

(4) The studies of Geer,⁴ Bayer,⁵ and the present author⁶ have established that with the exception of fifty words i.e. 3.3 percent, all the vocabulary of the Life can be found in the Suetonius Index of Howard-Jackson.⁷ No other ancient text would seem to have had its authorship confirmed by a test so stringent and so successful.

(5) Excepting sections 37 and 38 there is not a single word on the

¹ H. Naumann, *Rhein. Mus.* 87 (1938) 337 ff, esp. 344.

² H. Naumann, *Sileno* 2 (1976) 35 ff.

³ Not only Vacca's Life of Lucan and the Life of Persius, but above all the Lives of Horace.

⁴ R. M. Geer, *HSCP* 37 (1926) 99 f and *TAPA* 57 (1926) 107: "My investigations strongly supported the accepted view that the Life as a whole is Suetonian."

⁵ K. Bayer, "Der Suetonische Kern und die späteren Zusätze der Vergilvita," diss. phil. Munich, 1951 (dactyl.).

⁶ *Rhein. Mus.* 87.334 ff, esp. 365-367 and *Philol.* 118 (1974) 131 ff.

⁷ G. Koertge, *In Suetonii de uiris illustribus inquisitionum capita tria* (Halle 1900), diss. phil. Halenses 14.3, 20 = 206: *attamen equidem contendo . . . Donatum ad verbum Suetonii memoriam reddidisse*.

Life of Virgil that has been shown not to be *potentially* Suetonian.⁸ This is admitted even by Paratore,⁹ who nevertheless — without any cogent reason — maintains that the Life belongs to Donatus.

To these facts we should add the following considerations:

(1) The only point at issue is the question of how far Donatus has gone with his *admixto etiam sensu nostro*.¹⁰ To judge from the small number of additions in the Life of Terence and from the words *cum enim usquequaque liceret* with which he introduces his *nostra interponere* he has added only very little.

(2) The attempt to track down insertions by Donatus with the help of the Suetonius Index of Howard-Jackson, incomplete as it is, appears hopeless and questionable in method. This was clearly seen by K. Bayer.¹¹

(3) That Donatus himself is the author of sections 37 and 38 is proved by three arguments from the matter and four arguments from their language.¹² No further proof of interpolation can possibly be demanded.¹³ For other alleged interpolations on the part of Donatus similarly cogent arguments would have to be advanced.

(4) There is no trace of such arguments. All bracketings other than that of 37–38 are based on nothing but feelings or on assumptions not only unproven but clearly incapable of proof. Bayer rightly speaks (p. 3) of “hearing the grass grow” and a “journey into the blue.” The most regrettable aspect is that all those who deny parts of the text to Suetonius have rushed into athetizing without simply and honestly trying to interpret what is there. The text as a whole and the organic function of the parts they athetize seem to be of little interest to them.¹⁴

⁸ *Rhein. Mus.* 87. 355–358.

⁹ *Philol.* 121 (1977) 259: “l’assenza di parole flagrantemente estranee all’*usus scribendi* dell’ autore del *De Vita Caesarum*”; 261 “in essa non è riuscito a ravvisare alcun altro particolare linguistico che smentisse l’*usus* di Suetonio.”

¹⁰ *TAPA* 57 (1926) 107–115; cf. *Rhein. Mus.* 87. 359–369.

¹¹ (N.5, above) p. 2: “Ein entscheidendes Gewicht haben die Ergebnisse eines bloßen Wortschatzvergleiches nicht. Vieles läßt sich so oder so entscheiden, je nach *ira et studium* des Beurteilers.” P. 3 speaks of “schwankenden Ergebnissen” and of the “Einsicht in die Unlösbarkeit des Problems” by lexicographical means. P. 24: “Man kann es eben auch nicht fordern, daß Sueton sich nie anders ausdrücken durfte als uns das aus den *Caesares* und den kleineren *Viten* bekannt ist.”

¹² H. Naumann, *Wien. Stud.* 92/13 (1979) 151–165, esp. 159 f.

¹³ On the kind of proof required see Chr. Gnlika, in *Studien z. Literatur der Spätantike*, Festschr. Wolfgang Schmid, *Antiquitas* ser. 1 vol. 23 (Bonn 1975), pp. 49 and 87 ff.

¹⁴ W. Steidle, *Sueton u. die antike Biographie*, Zetem; vol. I (Munich 1951), pp. 24, 47, esp. 171 ff; H. Naumann, (n.12, above) 161 ff.

No wonder their bracketings do not produce a smooth text which closes up neatly around each bracket — as is the case with sections 37a to 39 — but a lacerated one which has to be supplemented by what they thought it necessary to remove.

(5) A suspicion that Donatus nevertheless might have made minor insertions, which it would be difficult to pin down by lexicographical methods, is shown to be groundless by the present authors' "Three Arguments":¹⁵

(1-2) If Donatus did not alter the text of Suetonius even where we know that he considered it wrong linguistically ("solecism argument") or in subject matter ("contradiction argument"), he did not alter it at all.

(3) If the stylistic figure of the "replacement word"¹⁶ (profession instead of name), which is beloved by Donatus but totally avoided by Suetonius, occurs in the sixteen words of sections 37 and 38 (which certainly belong to Donatus) but nowhere else in the *Life of Virgil*, additions by Donatus, let alone insertions of ninety lines as assumed by Paratore and some other scholars,¹⁷ are unthinkable. If the *Life of Virgil* had been written by Donatus, the word *poeta* would occur in it not three times but fifteen times, and, of the fifteen, as often as ten times as a replacement word for the name of Virgil. The replacement word for the name of Augustus would occur at least six times.¹⁸

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¹⁵ *Rhein. Mus.* 87.349/53; *Philol.* 118.133-137; *Wien. Stud.* 92/13.157-159.

¹⁶ *Rhein. Mus.* 87.353 f; 364 f; *Philol.* 118.137 f.

¹⁷ E.g. Valmaggi (1885), Diehl (1911), Geer (1926), Wieser (1926), Brugnoli (1962).

¹⁸ *Philol.* 118.137.

SERENUS SAMMONICUS

EDWARD CHAMPLIN

I. Serenus Sammonicus, "vir saeculo suo doctus," was slain with other partisans of the emperor Geta in the very last days of the year 211. Luckily, his reputation survived the dark years of the third century to flourish in late antiquity: Arnobius and Servius applied his erudition to their particular ends; Macrobius plundered him for sections of the *Saturnalia*; Sidonius Apollinaris was familiar with his work. Macrobius it is who bears explicit witness to his importance: he was the learned man of his age. His posthumous fame and the manner of his death both suggest a person of some consequence in literature and society. In fact, a case can be made that he was the leading figure of Latin letters in his age.¹

The man is perhaps best known from four passages in the *Historia Augusta* (a source which immediately engenders caution in the reader). The first and most valuable of these appears in a convincing enumeration of the friends of Geta slaughtered by Caracalla after the assassination of his brother: "occisique nonnulli etiam cenantes, inter quos etiam Sammonicus Serenus, cuius libri plurimi ad doctrinam extant."² Geta's death can be assigned to 26 December 211;³ that of Sammonicus presumably followed very soon thereafter. As it happens, Macrobius confirms that he did indeed flourish "temporibus Severi principis."⁴ Thus we have a terminus of great value. Equally important, and a tantalizing basis for conjecture, we are confronted with a great man of letters closely, indeed fatally, involved in high politics.

Next there is a puzzling item in the life of Geta, to the effect that the

¹ Previous versions of this paper were greatly improved by the comments of Professors T. D. Barnes, G. W. Bowersock, and F. G. B. Millar, and by suggestions made at seminars in Princeton and Manchester. It is a particular delight to record that early in 1975 Alan Cameron and I discovered that we had independently gone over much of the same evidence and come to similar conclusions, though often for different reasons, as to the date of Dictys Cretensis and the identity of the poet Septimius Serenus: see now his superb "*Poetae Novelli*," *HSCP* 84 (1980), 127-175.

² *HA Caracalla* 4.4

³ T. D. Barnes, *JTS* 19 (1968), 521 ff.

⁴ *Sat.* 3.16.6.

young prince was intimately familiar with the works of Serenus Sammonicus, who had dedicated them to Caracalla.⁵ Whatever the worth of the *vita* in which it appears, this remark should in fact be true. We know that Sammonicus was a partisan of Geta, and Geta (as we are otherwise aware) laid some claim to culture: that the prince knew Sammonicus' work as well is thus a fair conjecture.⁶ The dedications to Caracalla may also stand: whatever his ignorance about the life of Geta, the biographer and his audience could easily check such an item in the ill-fated scholar's surviving works, and in fact chance in the guise of Macrobius has preserved a fragment wherein Sammonicus addresses "sanctissimi Augusti," one of whom must be Caracalla.⁷ Thus another line is added to our sketch of the man.

Third (here following an order of increasing uncertainty), the *HA*'s biography of Severus Alexander pretends to supply a brief list of the Syrian emperor's favorite Latin authors. They were three: Cicero, Horace — and Serenus Sammonicus! "Nonnumquam et orationes et poetas, in quis Serenum Sammonicum, quem ipse noverat et dilexerat, et Horatium."⁸ This strange trio surely signals some obscure joke on the biographer's part. Alexander, who was born in Syria in 208 or 209, can hardly have been well acquainted with a man murdered in Rome in 211.⁹ And the biographer's knowledge of the emperor's reading habits, which he proceeds to display at some length, looks like pure fiction. There are two obvious alternatives: either Sammonicus was a poet or he was not. If he was not, the thing is complete invention and the poems of Sammonicus will join a recognizable category of inventions in the *HA*, that is, fictitious works ascribed to real authors: witness the alleged historical essays of the flesh and blood soldier and agricultural writer, Gargilius Martialis.¹⁰ But we ought not to condemn the item completely. If Sammonicus was a poet, and if his verse did survive in the fourth century, the joke gains immensely in subtlety: Alexander's acquaintance with the poetry then assumes an air of plausibility, and the concatenation of Sammonicus with Horace becomes all the more risible, particularly if his poems were held in no great regard by posterity. Whatever the case, let us suspend judgment for a moment: Serenus Sammonicus as a poet will prove useful.

The last passage of the *HA* is the least trustworthy of all, but, even

⁵ *HA Geta* 5.6.

⁶ Geta's cultural pretensions: *HA Geta* 5.1, 4-6; Herodian 4.3.3.

⁷ *Sat.* 3.17.4.

⁸ *HA Alexander* 30.2.

⁹ *PIR*² A 1610 for the evidence on Alexander's birth.

¹⁰ *HA Probus* 2.7, *Alexander* 37.9.

from this, something of value may be gleaned. The subject is Gordian II:

Sereno Sammonico, qui patris eius amicissimus, sibi autem praeceptor fuit, nimis acceptus et carus, usque adeo ut omnes libros Sereni Sammonici patris sui, qui censebantur ad sexaginta et duo milia, Gordiano minori moriens ille relinqueret. quod eum ad caelum tulit, si quidem tantae bibliothecae copia et splendore donatus in famam hominum litterarum decore pervenit.¹¹

No one has taken this hilarious nonsense seriously in recent years, nor should they, but it does merit attention as a type. The supposed intimacy between this Sammonicus and the younger Gordian inevitably recalls Sammonicus' historical relationship with Geta and his apocryphal one with Severus Alexander. More important, the younger Sammonicus has recently been exposed as a figment of the *HA*, one of a group of nonexistent sons alleged to have followed in their fathers' scholarly footsteps.¹² In fact this observation might be given greater precision: the real fathers are known to have taught imperial princes; the fictitious and homonymous sons are then appropriately assigned by the *HA* as tutors to future emperors in a subsequent generation. If this observed sequence is correct, it should confirm what we would have suspected already: that the real Serenus Sammonicus was indeed the tutor of the sons of Septimius Severus.¹³ In other words, he was not only a friend or acquaintance of the imperial family, he was at court in an official capacity. What he taught the imperial princes remains to be seen.

The nature and scope of Sammonicus' work may be estimated with ease from the numerous fragments preserved by later authors. The work for which he was best remembered was the *Res Reconditae*, presented in at least five books. The longest fragment commonly assigned to it, to be discovered in Macrobius, concerns *luxuria*, specifically the sturgeon and its fluctuating popularity at fashionable Roman banquets over the centuries. This marvelous curiosity deserves to be quoted at length:

nam temporibus Severi principis, qui ostentabat duritiam morum,

¹¹ *HA Gordian* 18.2.

¹² R. Syme, *Emperors and Biography* (1971), 10, 184.

¹³ Compare the bogus savant Scaurinus, alleged tutor of Alexander Severus (*HA Alexander* 3.3) and purported son of the real grammarian Scaurinus, teacher of Lucius Verus (*HA Verus* 2.5); and the bogus Iulius Titianus the younger, alleged tutor of Maximinus Caesar (*HA Maximini* 27.5) and purported son of the real polymath Iulius Titianus, teacher (as I shall argue elsewhere) of Geta and Caracalla (*PIR*² I 604, with Syme, above, n.12).

Sammonicus Serenus, vir saeculo suo doctus, cum ad principem suum scriberet faceretque de hoc pisce sermonem, verba Plinii quae superius posui praemisit et ita ipse subiecit: "Plinius, ut scitis, ad usque Traiani imperatoris venit aetatem. nec dubium est quod ait nullo honore hunc piscem temporibus suis fuisse, verum ab eo dici. *apud antiquos* autem in pretio fuisse ego testimoniis palam facio, vel eo magis quod gratiam eius video ad epulas quasi postliminio redisse; quippe qui, dignatione vestra cum intersum convivio sacro, animadvertam hunc piscem a coronatis ministris cum tibicine introferri. sed quod ait Plinius de acipenseris squamis, id verum esse maximus rerum naturalium indagator Nigidius Figulus ostendit, in cuius libro De animalibus quarto ita positum est: cur alii pisces squama secunda, acipenser adversa sit."¹⁴

Soon after this, Macrobius again cites Sammonicus by name for the startling information that Asinius Celer (cos. A.D. 38) paid 7,000 sesterces for a single mullet. And somewhat later, still in the context of *luxuria*, a discussion of sumptuary laws arrives at the lex Fannia of 161 B.C., and again Sammonicus' antiquarian fancy is exploited verbatim:

Lex Fannia, sanctissimi Augusti, ingenti omnium ordinum consensu pervenit ad populum, neque eam praetores aut tribuni ut plerasque alias, sed ex omnium bonorum consilio et sententia ipsi consules pertulerunt, cum res publica ex luxuria conviviorum maiora quam credi potest detrimenta pateretur. siquidem eo res redierat, ut gula inlecti plerique ingenui pueri pudicitiam et libertatem suam venditarent, plerique ex plebe Romana vino madidi in comitium venirent et ebrii de rei publicae salute consulerent.¹⁵

It is usually assumed that these passages and indeed perhaps all of *Saturnalia* 3.13–22 derive from Sammonicus' *Res Reconditae*.¹⁶ Such precise attribution is hazardous, and the repetition of the second person singular and plural in the passages quoted, and their obviously didactic intent, do not immediately suggest an encyclopedic compilation. Rather we might envisage a *sermo* addressed to the emperors on the subject of *luxuria*: this practice of enlightening noble friends in brief learned essays was not uncommon. Perhaps Serenus Sammonicus was simply a notorious gourmand: after all, the *HA* remarks, soberly or otherwise, that he was slain while dining.

However, some material does survive which is recondite under any definition. Thus we learn from Macrobius of the ancient and secret

¹⁴ *Sat.* 3.16.6–7.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 3.17.4.

¹⁶ G. Wissowa, *Hermes* 16 (1881), 502; P. Courcelle, *Late Latin Writers and Their Greek Sources* (1969), 22 ff.

formula for summoning tutelary deities away from a besieged city. The far-sighted commander must be very careful to distinguish it from the one devoting the city to destruction, "nam repperi in libro quinto Rerum reconditarum Sammonici Sereni utrumque carmen, quod ille se in cuiusdam Furii *vetustissimo libro* repperisse professus est."¹⁷ Likewise, Arnobius repeats, on the authority of Sammonicus and others, the ancient tale which assigned the tomb of a certain Olus Vulcentanus to the Capitolium, hence deriving its name from the head discovered there: *caput Oli*.¹⁸ Equally recondite is a digression on the midnight sun to be discovered in Servius, his authorities on the marvels of Thule being "apud Graecos Ctesias et Diogenes, apud Latinos Sammonicus."¹⁹ (And two abstruse items on auspices and lightning which Servius dredged out of unspecified "libri reconditi" might well derive from Sammonicus also.²⁰) Finally, an item from Sidonius Apollinaris, not particularly recondite, on the use of Greek and foreign terms where the Latin is inadequate: he defends his own practice with appeal to the powerful authority of Marcus Varro, Sammonicus, and Censorinus.²¹

The sum of these fragments is meager but sufficient to characterize their author. Above all, Serenus Sammonicus moved in the very best of circles, the imperial court. He was an acquaintance (at least) of Septimius Severus and dined at the palace, and he was surely one of the tutors of Geta and Caracalla, a position which places him in the company of such luminaries as the jurist Papinian and the sophist Aelius Antipater, men who combined deep learning with political power (and who also died in the aftermath of Geta's fall). Sammonicus himself is a type, an antiquarian in the time-honored tradition. No fact was too obscure to escape his net of pedantry: sturgeons' scales, obsolete laws, anecdotes, archaic formulas, the midnight sun. Further, there is a grammatical thread to be observed running through his interests, apparent in the etymology of Capitolium and the use of Greek terms in Latin. In short, Sammonicus can be seen as a typical man of Latin letters in an Age of Archaism, and a worthy successor of Fronto and Aulus Gellius, one whose social rank and position is intimately bound up with the prevailing passion for grammar and a mastery of ancient lore.²² Particularly suggestive of the archaizing movement is the

¹⁷ *Sat.* 3.9.6-12; cf. E. Rawson, *JRS* 63 (1973), 168 ff.

¹⁸ *Adv. nat.* 6.7.

¹⁹ *Ad Georg.* 1.30.

²⁰ *Ad Aen.* 1.398, 2.649.

²¹ *Carm.* 14, pt. 3.

²² The standard work on archaism remains that of R. Marache, *La critique littéraire de la langue latine et le développement du goût archaïsant au II^e siècle de notre ère* (1952).

sturgeon episode, directed to an emperor who paraded his *duritia morum*. Here Sammonicus is not a mere antiquary mining exotic facts from works of hoary antiquity. Like Fronto he is in part at least attempting to establish a direct link with the good old days of Rome, to reject the recent and degenerate past and reimpose the purer ways of old. Hence the *reintroduction* of the sturgeon at Roman banquets is grist to the propagandist's mill, and the aims of the archaist coincide nicely with those of the courtier.

One other characteristic distinguishes Serenus Sammonicus: he is exceptionally silly. Even these few remains betray him. It is perhaps venial that his facts about the sturgeon and the mullet are cribbed straight from the elder Pliny's *Natural History*; but it is inexcusable that he should confuse the younger Pliny with his uncle less than a century after the former's death, an annoying conflation which was to persist for generations.²³ More ludicrous is his apparent belief that the Roman republic was brought to its knees by noble youths who bartered both liberty and chastity for *haute cuisine*. Olus' head and sturgeons with scales growing backwards speak for themselves; one can only imagine what marvels of credulity were elicited by the wonders of Thule. Sammonicus was gullible and he was a lover of antiquity. With such attributes he might be the perfect mark for a swindler peddling items of fraudulent antiquity: memoirs of the Trojan War, for example.

II. Research into ancient literary forgery or imposture has so flourished in the last decade that little need be added here about the problems and the methods of investigation: there is now an excellent monograph on the subject, and a learned colloquium has been devoted to *Pseudepigrapha*, with one volume of proceedings published and another on the way.²⁴ Two eminent examples of the genre appear in the apparently Late Latin works which profess to be translations of original memoirs in Greek compiled by combatants at the siege of Troy, and these two concoctions merit even greater attention than they are worth, for they are the sources for much of the medieval romance of Troy. One is the pro-Trojan account of "Dares the Phrygian," a brief affair in late and barbarous Latin, prefaced by a letter from its translator "Cornelius Nepos" addressed to "Sallustius Crispus." Much more presentable

²³ Pliny *NH* 9.27.60, 30.64. The two Plinies were first separated by Sidonius Apollinaris, but the conflation survived into the fourteenth century: S. E. Stout, *TAPA* 86 (1955), 250.

²⁴ W. Speyer, *Die literarische Fälschung im heidnischen und christlichen Altertum: Ein Versuch ihrer Deutung* (1971); K. v. Fritz, ed., *Pseudepigrapha I* (Fondation Hardt, *Entretiens* 18, 1971).

than this is the pro-Hellenic account of "Dictys the Cretan," the *Ephemeris Belli Troiani* in six books.²⁵ This purports to be the memoirs of a companion of Idomeneus of Crete, translated from Greek into Latin by a certain Septimius, a man equipped with a good, straightforward Latin style which he intersperses with well-applied reminiscences of Sallust in speech, narrative, and description. The course of the entire war is related as viewed by one soldier with a Greek point of view, a Homer amplified (as it were) and stripped of gods and poetry.

It can not be emphasized too often that the text of Dictys Cretensis is a Latin version of a lost Greek original, that is, that we are dealing with a two-layered forgery. Until this century there was considerable doubt as to the very existence of the supposed original, but the publication in 1907 and 1966 of two fragments of papyrus has proved that a Greek version did circulate as early as the late second or early third century, in fact (curiously) in or very near the reign of Septimius Severus.²⁶ These papyri are also sufficient to demonstrate clearly that the Latin text is a version rather than a translation of the Greek, which it expands or paraphrases or occasionally distorts. These two observations are of great importance. First, the fact that both papyri are roughly Severan in date might induce the suspicion either that the Greek memoirs were actually composed then or (more cautiously) that they first circulated widely at that time. Septimius, the Latin translator, claims that the Greek *libelli* came into his hands by chance, *forte*: it is just possible then that the Latin version followed the Greek very quickly, and in the Severan age. This slim chance should be kept in mind. Second, and more concrete, Septimius says not that he translated the work but that he treated it in Latin, *Latine disserere*: the papyri reveal the precision of this claim, for what we have is indeed, strictly, a version. Thus "Septimius" as distinct from "Dictys" can become a figure worthy of investigation. Dictys is clearly and incontestably a fiction, but, to put the question simply, is there any reason to suppose that Septimius was not precisely what he claims to be, that is, a Roman scholar who chanced one day upon what he believed to be an authentic history?

Attached to some manuscripts of the memoirs is what purports to be an introductory epistle addressed by their translator Septimius to a certain Q. Aradius Rufinus, in which he relates the history of the work.

²⁵ Teubner text edited (1958) and re-edited (1973) by W. Eisenhut. I have not seen the 1970 Brandeis dissertation of H. J. Marblestone, "Dictys Cretensis: A Study of the Ephemeris Belli Troiani as a Cretan Pseudepigraphon."

²⁶ *P. Tebt.* 268, cf. Dictys 4.9-15; *P. Oxy.* 2539, cf. Dictys 4.18. On their significance, W. Eisenhut, *RhM* 112 (1969), 114 ff.

It deserves quotation in full, if only as a neglected witness to ancient scholarship:

Ephemeridem belli Troiani Dictys Cretensis, qui in ea militia cum Idomeneo meruit, primo conscripsit litteris Punicis, quae tum Cadmo et Agenore auctoribus per Graeciam frequentabantur. deinde post multa saecula collapsio per vetustatem apud Gnosum, olim Cretensis regis sedem, sepulchro eius, pastores cum eo devenissent, forte inter ceteram ruinam loculum stagno affabre clausum offendere ac thesaurum rati mox dissolvunt. non aurum neque aliud quicquam praedae, sed libros ex philyra in lucem † prodierunt†. at ubi spes frustrata est, ad Praxim dominum loci eos deferunt, qui commutatos litteris Atticis, nam oratio Graeca fuerat, Neroni Romano Caesari obtulit, pro quo plurimis ab eo donatus est. nobis cum in manus forte libelli venissent, avidos verae historiae cupido incessit ea, uti erant, Latine disserere, non magis confisi ingenio, quam ut otiosi animi desidiam discuteremus. itaque priorum quinque voluminum, quae bello contracta gestaque sunt, eundem numerum servavimus, residua de reditu Graecorum quidem in unum redegimus atque ita ad te misimus. tu, Rufine mi, ut par est, fave coeptis atque in legendo Dictym . . .

Here the letter breaks off, a cruel disappointment, for we doubtless would have learned the reason for dedicating the work to Aradius Rufinus.

The narrative of the origin and discovery of Dictys' diary is of course a fraud, to be placed in the ample category of ancient book "discoveries."²⁷ Wonderful works turned up with astonishing frequency in antiquity just when they were needed, tumbling out of the sky, emerging from the dust of temples, libraries, and archives, or (most popular of all) being rooted out of graves or the bowels of the earth. The most famous example of this in modern times (though not for lack of competition) took place on the night of 21 September 1823, when the angel Moroni revealed to Joseph Smith that he would find the Book of Mormon in a stone container buried beneath a rock on the hill Cumorah in upstate New York. He did. Now, whatever the veracity of the original discoverer in 1823, no one could deny that today hundreds of thousands believe in the truth of the Book of Mormon. Similarly with Dictys' memoirs, the original may be a fraud, but there is not the slightest hint in the *epistula* or elsewhere that Septimius was not a genuine scholar who firmly believed in the authenticity of his text.

When then did Septimius live, and who was he? Those who have cared to consider the question have (with one recent exception) all

²⁷ The following paragraph depends heavily on W. Speyer, *Bücherfunde in der Glaubenswertung der Antike* (Hypomnemata 24, 1970).

assigned him and the Latin text as it stands to the fourth century, some with a query, some without.²⁸ There are, in essence, three reasons for this. The first, based on style, must be inconclusive. For one thing, the work is at least partly resistant to analysis by being, first, a translation of sorts from the Greek, and second, an intensive imitation of Sallust.²⁹ Be that as it may, one would be very brave indeed to assign a work to the fourth rather than to the third or even second century on grounds of style alone, especially as there has survived no sizable chunk of pagan Latin literature from the crucial third century. And no scholar has yet been willing to point to a single word or construction which is never met before (say) 300. If the work is to be placed after that date, we must look to its content.

The second and only iron-clad argument is in fact a historical reference, an anachronism. It appears in the Prologue of the work, an allusion to Rutilius Rufus, "illius insulae tunc consularis," "then," that is, at the time of discovery in Nero's reign. The office of *consularis Cretae* is not attested before the 370s, and it was certainly a fourth-century creation, hence apparently a solid *terminus ante quem non* for the translation. However, it can be argued that *consularis* is a perfectly standard unofficial term for a governor by the second century, particularly if derived from *ὑπατικός* in the original, as it would be used by a Greek forger uninterested in official niceties.³⁰ But this explanation might cause misgiving that, of the numerous instances of such free usage, there is only one example (in a private letter) of a man called a consular who was not in fact an ex-consul in rank, as the term basically implies. Fortunately, there is a more simple and elegant solution: let us excise from the work the entire *prologus* as a later accretion.

This Prologue is a strange animal, containing a history of the origin and transmission of the memoirs which is roughly a doublet of the account already offered in the dedicatory Epistle, but differing in several details. Most remarkable about these twin prefaces is their relation to the manuscript tradition: all extant versions of Dictys Cretensis descend from one or other of two common ancestors, gamma and epsilon, and with one very late and easily explicable exception, the

²⁸ I take the *communis opinio* to be represented by Pauly-Wissowa, Schanz-Hosius, and Teuffel-Kroll. The only exception (to my knowledge) has been A. Cameron, in appendix III to the paper cited in n.1, above.

²⁹ Schanz-Hosius IV.1² (1914), 89, lists investigators of the Sallustian influence, one of whom found some 350 reminiscences.

³⁰ Examples of *consularis* and *hypatikos* used loosely are cited by Cameron (n.1, above); note particularly *P.Mich.* 466 (A.D. 107). And now we can add the consularis of Britain mentioned a few years before that, on the Vindolanda tablets: *Historia* 24 (1975), 475.

representatives of epsilon offer the Epistle *only*, those of gamma the Prologue *only*. There has been no convincing explanation of this state of affairs, but that has not stopped a standard opinion on the two prefaces being formed, expressed by one scholar thus: "the Prologue gives . . . readings that are more specific and circumstantial, and, on that account, better entitled to the rank of genuineness than those contained in the Epistle."³¹ That was written seventy years ago. A generation more alive to forgery and imposture, notably to the tricks of the *Historia Augusta*, will dismiss it as founded in bad method, indeed will view with skepticism a wealth of circumstantial but uncorroborated detail. The relative worthlessness of the Prologue may be demonstrated briefly.

First, many of these "circumstantial readings" in the Prologue are mere embroidery, easily borrowed or deduced from the available text itself: thus, Dictys is revealed as a citizen of Cnossus, a contemporary of the Atridae, a follower of Idomeneus and Merion. And some of this is mere padding: Dictys returned to Crete an old man, he ordered the books to be buried with him, his heirs put them in a tin box which was buried in his tomb, and so forth. Hardly superior information.

Where the two prefaces actually differ in matters of substance, there is no way of establishing the supposed reliability of the Prologue. Thus, in the Epistle the tomb collapsed from old age; in the Prologue, more dramatically (and therefore perhaps, here and elsewhere, more suspiciously) there is an earthquake.³² The Neronian *libelli* came into the hands of the author of the Epistle by chance, which is somewhat strange, for the Prologue confidently asserts that Nero had them deposited in a Greek library (location unspecified). And, most interesting, in the Epistle the *dominus* Praxis took the diary to Nero after transliterating it. But in the Prologue the *dominus* Eupraxides takes it to Rutilius Rufus, the *consularis* of the island in the thirteenth year of Nero's reign; Rufus transmits it to the emperor, who summons his experts in Punic to translate it, and who suitably rewards Eupraxides with gifts and with Roman citizenship. Here at last is a wealth of circumstantial detail, but how trustworthy? For what it is worth, the name Praxis is discovered three or four times in the inscriptions of Crete, Eupraxides never; indeed, Eupraxides looks like something of a pun.³³ What then of Rutilius Rufus, the governor of Crete? It is not surprising that no senator of that name can be found in the imperial

³¹ N. E. Griffin, *Dares and Dictys* (1907), 118 ff.

³² Malalas and the Suda likewise report the earthquake, but their Greek version was not the original: cf. Schanz-Hosius (n.29, above).

³³ Praxis: *I.Cret.* 1.8.20 (?), II.23.19, III.3.41; IV.171.

period.³⁴ But if we are dealing with an erudite forger in the Prologue, this must surely be a sly reference to *the* Rutilius Rufus, that is, the philosopher and consul of 105 B.C. whose opposition to Marius led him into exile in Asia. Who better to receive the sober memoirs of Dictys Cretensis than the noble author of a famous memoir *de vita sua*?

Moreover there are two clear errors to convict the Prologue. First, the *epistula* says that the original memoir was written in Punic letters but in the Greek language; the *prologus* clearly states that both words and letters were Punic. Which is correct? At Book V, chapter 17 (a paragraph found in all manuscripts), Dictys explains at some length his reasons for writing the Greek language in Punic letters: had the composer of the Prologue forgotten, or was he being purposely frivolous?³⁵

The second error may be worse. The Prologue as rendered in the latest Teubner text asserts that Dictys' memoirs were originally written in nine volumes. Or so it seems. Unfortunately, "novem" is a restoration of modern editors imported into the text to accord with Byzantine reports of a Greek version.³⁶ In fact the manuscripts are unanimous in preserving "sex volumina," which is the total not of the original, of course, but of Septimius' Latin abridgment. This might be referred to scribal stupidity, but in the light of previous observations one is strongly tempted to attribute it to carelessness, conscious or unconscious, on the part of the man who seems to have added a forged preface to an already fraudulent memoir.

The third and final argument for a fourth-century date rests on the supposed identity of the recipient of the dedicatory epistle, Q. Aradius Rufinus. It is commonly held that this man should be one of two men of that name, the first presumed on slender grounds to have been prefect of the city of Rome three times in the troubled decade between 304 and 313, and the second likewise prefect, in 376.³⁷ In fact neither of these magnates is attested as a Quintus, and the only sure homonym has been overlooked, Q. Aradius Rufinus Valerius Proculus, governor of Byzacena in 321.³⁸ Identification of the recipient of Dictys' memoirs with one of these grandees was only natural, for the family ranked among the

³⁴ C. Cichorius (ap. Jacoby, *FGrH* 1.274) produced T. Atilius Rufus, a Vespasianic consul suffect, thus necessitating the assumption of both corruption in our text and an unattested governorship of Crete.

³⁵ Note also I.16, where Greek ballots are cast "punicis litteris."

³⁶ "Corrected" by Dederich (1833), Meister (1872), and Eisenhut (1958, 1973). The Greek version available to Byzantine scholars was apparently even less faithful to the original than was the Latin.

³⁷ A. Chastagnol, *Les fastes de la préfecture de Rome au Bas-Empire* (1962), 59-62, 196-198; cf. *PLRE* I.821.

³⁸ *PLRE* Proculus 12.

greatest in fourth-century Rome, though it had fallen on hard times by the day of Symmachus. Nevertheless, its roots reach down a long way, through the third century, when it had already won great prominence, and even into the second. Along the way more than one consular Quintus Aradius Rufinus appears in the family tree. Therefore there is no compelling reason to look for Septimius' friend in the upper branches, and no need at all to assign the translation of Dictys' work to the fourth century. Speculation as to Rufinus' identity can lead us to an earlier age, and the history of the family will prove crucial to an understanding of Dictys Cretensis.

The date of the family's first appearance remains uncertain. Much information has accrued since the appearance of the notices in *PIR*², and for several years now the existence of important and relevant inscriptions in or near the forum of Bulla Regia in Africa Proconsularis has been common knowledge, but they remain scandalously unpublished; as far as can be calculated from various sources, at least five of them refer to or honor members of the *gens Aradia*.³⁹ This has not prevented several recent and unfortunate attempts to reconstruct the family's history in the third century. The result has been varied fantasy, psittacism, and in two cases incorrect readings of unpublished inscriptions.⁴⁰ But the fault lies elsewhere. Until these documents are published nothing can be said with confidence about the fortunes of one of the great families of the dark years. All we can say is that the evidence suggests that the family first rose under Septimius Severus.

There is a wealth of evidence for the existence of a third-century Q. Aradius Rufinus, too much indeed, for the temptation has been overwhelming to apply every scrap to a composite sketch of one man when there may well be two or three. (1) A Q. Aradius Rufinus was co-opted sodalis Augustalis Claudialis in the year 219.⁴¹ This is the one firm date we have, so it has tended to be the peg on which to hang other evidence. (2) A Q. Aradius Rufinus appears on a stamp from Rome together with his wife, Iunia Aiacia Modesta.⁴² This lady is usually considered to have been a daughter of Q. Aiacius Modestus Crescencianus, a man consul for the second time in 228, and suffect consul perhaps around the year 207.⁴³ New evidence raises doubt. The wife of

³⁹ See, for example, the partial catalog of Y. Thébert, *MEFR* 85 (1973), 290 f.

⁴⁰ M. Corbier, *L'aerarium Saturni et l'aerarium militare* (1974), 319 ff.; B. Rémy, *Historia* 25 (1976), 458; M. Christol, *ZPE* 28 (1978), 145. Better is to be expected from the pen of A. Beschaouch, promised at *BSAF* 1976, 136.

⁴¹ *ILS* 5025.

⁴² *CIL* XV.8087.

⁴³ His career is discussed by M. Christol, *REA* 73 (1971), 124.

the *consul bis* is now known to have been Danacia Quartilla Aureliana, his sons Q. Aiadius Censorinus Celsinus Arabianus and L. Aiadius Modestus Aurelianus Priscus Agricola Salvianus; it is somewhat disquieting that nowhere in this welter of polyonymity is there a sign of the *nomen* Iunius.⁴⁴ Iunia Aiadia Modesta is just as likely to be a granddaughter or for that matter any other relation of the consul of 228; and therefore our Rufini numbers 1 and 2 need not be identical or even contemporary. (3) A Q. Aradius Rufinus, a consul, raised twin dedications at Thuburnica in North Africa to Sol and Luna.⁴⁵ He cannot be dated and is therefore not surely identifiable. (4) The partial cursus inscription from Bulla Regia of a consular Q. Aradius Rufinus Optatus Aelianus has been published (though it remains unedited), which runs from a legionary legateship to consular commands and finally to an extraordinary command "agens vice procos. prov. Afrik."⁴⁶ As it registers his governorship of Syria, he should be the unnamed ancestor of Aradius Rufinus, prefect of Rome in 376, who was noted as holding the post.⁴⁷ And since the cursus also names him sodalis Augustalis he may or may not be identified with our Rufinus number 1; perhaps not, for sons could and did succeed their fathers in this fraternity.⁴⁸ Further, a second inscription from Bulla Regia, unpublished, commemorates the patronage of this man's child, and a third, again unpublished, records the same patronage for his wife Calpurnia Fidiana (sic) Aemiliana c.f. (5) The name of the consular governor of Britannia Superior on a fragmentary stone might be restored as Q. Aradius Rufinus.⁴⁹ If so, he could be identified with any, all, or none of our Rufini 1 through 4.

In addition to these candidates, there are other members of the family to be noted. (6) An Aradius Paternus has turned up recently as legate of Cappadocia in 231, and therefore a Severan consular. Obviously a member of the family, his close relationship is confirmed by a funerary fragment in Rome, dedicated to a P. Aradi[o] Patern[o] Rufini[ano? . . .].⁵⁰ (7) Another P. Aradius forms a second link with the Rufini, P. Aradius Roscius Rufinus Saturninus Tiberianus, a senator of

⁴⁴ The family is known from *AE* 1968.518-524; cf. Christol, *ZPE* 28 (1978),

145.

⁴⁵ *ILS* 3937-38.

⁴⁶ *ES* 4 (1967), 83 = *AE* 1971.490.

⁴⁷ Libanius, *Ep.* 737, with the discussion by J. F. Gilliam, *AJP* 79 (1958), 240.

⁴⁸ E.g., *AE* 1914.26 and 1946.124; *ILS* 1069 and 1068; *CIL* VI.1986 and 1988.

⁴⁹ *AE* 1962.58.

⁵⁰ *AE* 1964.5; *CIL* VI.31948.

quaestorian rank and patron of Privernum.⁵¹ In turn, it is easily presumed that this man had a double *praenomen* and was the same as L. Aradius Roscius Rufinus Saturninus Tiberianus c.i., the father of [Aradia] Ros[cia . . .] ne . . . a Calpurnia Purgilla, a patroness of Bulla Regia.⁵² Or possibly the two men were father and son, or brothers, for another of the unpublished bases from Bulla commemorates a L. Aradius Roscius Rufinus . . . as well. (8) Yet another unpublished stone records a Ti. Arad[ius . . .], obviously (from his *praenomen*) a relative of number 7. (9) Most interesting of all, an Aradius Saturninus turns up on an unobtrusive sarcophagus at Interpromium in the land of the Paeligni: he will prove very useful in a moment.⁵³

The third century is thus not lacking for noble Aradii. That they were all closely related is immediately apparent, but chronology is a great problem and any stemma is hazardous. There are simply too many unknowns, not least the lack of precise versions of several inscriptions. Most disconcerting are the two couples, Q. Aradius Rufinus Optatus Aelianus and Calpurnia Fidiana Aemiliana, and Q. Aradius Rufinus and Iunia Aiacia Modesta; without clear evidence to the contrary we must assume that the men were two distinct persons, both consular in rank. The career of Optatus Aelianus has received exhaustive scrutiny, and historical conclusions have been drawn from it. Yet if we cannot be sure that his father-in-law was the consul of 228, and if we cannot be sure that he himself was the sodalis of 219, the chronology collapses. Thus, his consulship has recently been set in the middle years of Severus Alexander, perhaps precisely in 228 to coincide with the second consulship of his putative father-in-law; and his last recorded office as acting proconsul of Africa has been enticingly connected with the uprising of the Gordiani in 238.⁵⁴ However, one could just as easily set the whole career twenty years earlier. Optatus Aelianus was the husband not of Iunia Aiacia Modesta but of a Calpurnia Fidiana Aemiliana. It is hard to resist amalgamating that lady with another from Bulla Regia, whose name is known imperfectly as Iulia Memmia . . . Calpurnia Aemiliana Fidiana, the daughter of a man who was consul designate in 191, C. Memmius Fidus Iulius Albius.⁵⁵ If we accordingly move Optatus Aelianus forward a generation his consulship would fall under Septimius Severus. The African command might then (for the

⁵¹ *CIL* X.6439 (from the forum: *AJA* 15 (1911), 181).

⁵² *CIL* VIII.14470.

⁵³ *EE* 8.33, no.132.

⁵⁴ Rémy (above, n.40), *passim*; his proposed consular date accepted by Christol, (above, n.40), 150.

⁵⁵ *ILAf.* 454 (Bulla Regia).

sake of argument) fall in the reign of Macrinus who, it will be recalled, bungled his appointments to the two senior proconsulships.⁵⁶

There is one great advantage to placing Q. Aradius Rufinus Optatus Aelianus in the reign of Severus: he belongs there. There should be no doubt that his family, like the emperor's, was African in origin, deriving of course from Bulla Regia, where it was so frequently honored. The man who was probably his father-in-law, C. Memmius Fidus Iulius Albius, consul in the last years of Commodus and in high office under Severus, was likewise African, deriving precisely from Bulla Regia.⁵⁷ In turn, this man's father-in-law was presumably the senator of praetorian rank L. Calpurnius Fidus Aemilianus, recorded on an inscription from Utica.⁵⁸ The Aradii of Bulla Regia thus begin to take on substance as solid representatives of Africa's bourgeois elite, and there is more. A Q. Aradius Rufinus (possibly the son of Optatus) married a daughter or other relative of Q. Aiadius Modestus Crescentianus, a great man of the Severan age (and on the present calculation a close contemporary of Optatus Aelianus). This man's *origo* has defied detection, but his wife at least, Danacia Quartilla Aureliana, owned land near Hadrumetum.⁵⁹ We can thus begin to suspect the existence of a real "African" group flourishing around the years 193/211.⁶⁰ Best of all, the sarcophagus from Interpromium bears the following inscription "in rozzi caratteri di bassi tempi": "Aradius Saturninus Septimiae Sever(a)e coniugi vivus viv(a)e p." This was published in the *Notizie degli Scavi* for 1885 with virtually no description of the sarcophagus itself, and no one seems to have discussed it since then; its date remains quite insecure.⁶¹ Nevertheless, Aradius Saturninus and Septimia Severa are well attested as names in two African senatorial families of the late second and early third centuries, one of which produced three emperors. It would be foolish to deny a connection between them, and in fact there is one other item to suggest or confirm it: the Latin translation of Dictys Cretensis was addressed by a Septimius to a Q. Aradius Rufinus.

A nexus of aristocratic Africans flourished under and indeed was connected with an African emperor about the year 200. Sometime around then the Greek memoirs of Dictys of Crete first turn up among our surviving documents and the Latin translation of those memoirs

⁵⁶ Dio 79.22.

⁵⁷ *PW* Memmius 25 for the evidence.

⁵⁸ *CIL* VIII.25382.

⁵⁹ *CIL* VIII.11152.

⁶⁰ The theme is an important one in A. R. Birley's *Septimius Severus, the African Emperor* (1971), particularly 327 ff.

⁶¹ *NdS* 1885.205-206, reported in *EE*.

bears in its dedication *nomina* appropriate to two possible members of that nexus. Could there be a connection? The emperor Septimius Severus was a native of the Punic city of Lepcis Magna. Whatever the ultimate origin of the Septimii may have been, the family was established in that city for several generations; its outlook and presumably its blood cannot have avoided a strong Punic tinge.⁶² The Aradii derived from the Punic city of Bulla Regia, also in Africa Proconsularis. Of their ultimate *origo* there can be no doubt: "by its nomenclature Africa attests ancient immigration," and families with the *nomina* of Aradius, Sidonius, or Tyrius took obvious pride in their real or putative roots in the great sea states of Phoenicia, Aradus, Sidon, and Tyre.⁶³ Now Dictys Cretensis displays a noteworthy interest in Phoenicia, for the lady Europa had been abducted from Sidon to his own island of Crete, where she was worshiped "summa religione." Thus, in the first section of the memoirs, the kings of Greece have come to Crete to divide the inheritance of Atreus, but they stay to marvel at the temple of Europa: "etsi ea, quae exhibebantur, cum laetitia accipiebant, tamen multo magis templi eius magnifica pulchritudine pretiosaque exstructione operum afficiebantur, insipientes repetentesque memoria singula, quae ex Sidona a Phoenice, patre eius, atque nobilibus matronis transmissa magno tum decori erant."⁶⁴

In short, Crete and Phoenix are introduced as great friends. Better, they are allies in grievance, according to Dictys: after the seduction of Helen, the scoundrel Paris fled with her to Sidon where he treacherously slew the king after partaking of his hospitality. Hence, some time later, during the great war, a Phoenician admiral is stoned to death by his troops for giving aid to the Trojans.⁶⁵ Moreover, best of all the ties between Crete and Phoenicia, the original memoir of Dictys the Cretan was purportedly written down in those letters which Cadmus had brought from Phoenicia, a point which (it must be emphasized) Septimius is careful to introduce in the first sentence of his epistle to Aradius Rufinus.⁶⁶ Myth and history converge here, for the semitic impact on both Crete and Africa is an observable phenomenon: to take one small but germane item, the name of Aradus had spread with the Phoenicians to both places.⁶⁷ Let us surmise that herein lies one reason

⁶² For the Punic side of Septimius Severus (and modern controversy), see A. R. Birley, (n.60, above), 1 ff, 26 ff.

⁶³ R. Syme, (n.12, above), 140-141.

⁶⁴ I.2.

⁶⁵ I.5, IV.4.

⁶⁶ *Ep.*; V.17.

⁶⁷ Cf. J.-P. Rey-Coquais, *Arados* (1974), 92 f, 177 f.

at least for the choice of Q. Aradius Rufinus as the recipient of the Latin translation of Dictys Cretensis. He was a great Punic aristocrat who flourished under the first African emperor; the time would be ripe for a Latin version of a work first written in the letters brought by Cadmus from Phoenicia.

If the hypothesis can be accepted that the Latin version of Dictys Cretensis could have been composed in the Severan age with an eye to the new, African court, then three strong reasons may be advanced to suggest, or prove, that the translator Septimius was none other than that Severan courtier and man of letters, Serenus Sammonicus. First, there is the slight problem of Sammonicus' name, one which no one has seen fit to pursue; in our sources he is consistently represented by two *cognomina*, without a trace of *praenomen* or *gentilicium*.⁶⁸ The name Sammonicus is particularly intriguing. It is found only once elsewhere, in the most mysterious of circumstances, as the only word on an inscription from Bordeaux which has long been lost to human ken. Romantic though this may be, it is not a great problem, for the element "Samo-" is extremely common in Gallic nomenclature. Therefore Serenus Sammonicus was a Gaul, perhaps first noticed by his future patron Septimius Severus when Severus was governor of Gallia Lugdunensis. But there is room for a great deal of doubt. "Sam(m)o-" is also a common element in Latin, witness the *nomen* Sammonius, and for that matter just as common in Greek.⁶⁹

Let us search out an alternative explanation, before assigning the scholar to Gaul: there is one in Dictys Cretensis. It is generally admitted that Dictys' name is geographical, reflecting Mt. Dikte in the east of Crete, and at an early period the term Diktaios came to be a synonym for Cretan, *Cretensis*.⁷⁰ The mountain was of course renowned for a cave which was well reputed to be the birthplace of Zeus, and this may have meant something to the author or translator of Dictys, for the shrine was still flourishing in the late second century.⁷¹ Mt. Dikte is almost but not quite at the end of Crete. The northeastern tip of the island is formed by a cape called Samonion. In antiquity this

⁶⁸ It may be noted here that the *praenomen* Lucius sometimes assigned to the translator Septimius is very insecure. It appears in the *epistula* in no manuscript, and only one (late, and now lost) has it in the prescriptions to Books V and VI.

⁶⁹ For Greek and Latin, consult the standard works of Schulze and Pape-Benseler. For Gaul, see D. E. Evans, *Gaulish Personal Names* (1967), 252 f. Sammonicus at Bordeaux: *CIL* XIII.832.

⁷⁰ *PW* Diktys. Antimachus of Colophon, fr. 174 Wyss.

⁷¹ As attested by the inscription, erected in that era, of the ancient "Dictaeon hymn to the Kouros" (*I.Cret.* III.3.2), on which see M. L. West, *JHS* 85 (1965), 149.

was considered to be a neighbor of Dikte: Strabo measured a mere 100 stadia between them, and the inhabitants of Hierapytna, the nearest place of importance, felt able to call simultaneously upon Zeus Diktaios and Athena Samonia.⁷² Several forms are attested for the name of the cape, from Salmone/Salmonion to Samonion, via Sammonion, the last offered in a text of the geographer Ptolemy.⁷³ It can be suggested here that the name Sammonicus is a geographical *cognomen*, analogous to Atticus or Italicus and derived from the *promuntorium Samonium*, which offered the first or last view one might have of the Dictian isle of Crete.⁷⁴

Further, there is a connection between Samonion and Troy. Strabo, quoting Demetrius of Skepsis, lists several place-names which are common to Crete and the Troad. Each has a Mt. Ida; Mt. Dikte in Crete has a twin near Skepsis; Hierapytna in Crete is matched by Pytna on Ida; Hippocorona near Adramyttium recalls Hippocoronium in Crete. "Σαμώνιον τε τὸ ἑωθινὸν ἀκρωτήριον τῆς νήσου καὶ πεδίων ἐν τῇ Νεανδρίδι καὶ τῇ Ἀλεξανδρέων."⁷⁵ The etiology of the Samonion plain in the Troad may be deduced from a fragment of the Histories of Nicolaus of Damascus, and it does indeed lead back to Crete: when the Cretan Scamander conquered the Troad, his right-hand man was a certain Samon, who was actually slain in this earlier Trojan war.⁷⁶ Such fragments are tantalizing, but their intent is irrelevant here. We need simply note the coincidence of two ancient place-names, one in Crete and one near Troy; of an eponymous Cretan hero killed in a Trojan war; and of an illustrious Roman antiquary with a highly unusual surname. "Sammonicus" is a second *cognomen* which has been added to another, Serenus. It may have followed publication of the Dictys diary as a nickname that stuck, a practice amply attested in ancient nomenclature. Abstruse erudition is encapsulated with a hint of malice. Were Cretans not notorious liars?

Second, should this seem too fragile, the translator Septimius and the antiquary Sammonicus have much in common. Both were archaizers: Sammonicus was the scholar who searched out material in the most ancient of volumes, while Septimius, "avidus verae historiae" and never more happy than when reciting the genealogy of a hero, also procured *libelli* of immemorial antiquity and set to translating them in

⁷² Strabo 10.479; *I.Cret.* III.5.13.

⁷³ 3.15.4. Cf. Lyd., *de mag.* 3.32, referring to the Roman writer Samonikos.

⁷⁴ As St. Paul was aware: Acts 27:7.

⁷⁵ 10.472. Cf. W. Leaf, *BSA* 17 (1910/11), 270 ff, and J. M. Cook, *The Troad* (1973), 315 f, for divergent views on the location of the Samonian plain.

⁷⁶ *FGrH* 90.14.

his leisure moments. And both men were sadly credulous. As to their specific interests, the evidence is very sparse, but there does seem to be an echo of Dictys of Crete in one of the learned fragments of Serenus Sammonicus. In his comments on Vergil, *Georgics* I.100–104, Servius quotes some remarks of Serenus Sammonicus to the effect that many Greek authors call the peak of Mt. Ida “Gargara,” and that because of this they improperly name all the summits of the range Gargara, when in fact Gargara is a city at the foot of Mt. Ida in the Asian province of Mysia, a place naturally damp and therefore highly fertile. Just before these remarks Servius notes the obvious, that Mysia is to be found not far from Troy, a rather suggestive concatenation. Now Gargaron does indeed appear in the *Iliad*, but only as the mountain seat of Zeus; that is, Homer is one of those “many Greek authors” who transferred the name from the town to the mountaintop. By contrast, that other great chronicler of the deeds done at Troy, Dictys, is precisely orthodox. He reports that during a lull in the fighting at Troy Ajax went off to capture Pitya and Zelea, cities renowned for their wealth, and not content with these he laid waste to Gargarum and four other cities (all named), returning to camp with great booty from the slopes of Ida.⁷⁷ This briskly military catalog, unique to Dictys, is just the sort of thing to arrest the eye of a commentator. When Septimius “treated” the text of Dictys in Latin, did he indulge himself in a minute and accurate commentary?

Third, there is a real shock in store if we amalgamate the translator and the antiquary into a single person, Septimius Serenus Sammonicus: we happen to possess about twenty-three metrical fragments from the works — notably from the *Opuscula Ruralia* — of a poet of the Severan age who is known to us as Septimius Serenus.⁷⁸ And even better, a tenth-century catalog of the library at Bobbio — an item ignored by the editors of Dictys — records “two books of Septimius Serenus, one *de ruralibus*, the other *de historia Troiana*.”⁷⁹ There is no need to assume a simple confusion between the poet Septimius Serenus and the translator Septimius here. This particular manuscript has left no trace in the tradition (hence it may well have retained a complete version of the epistle, with pertinent information), and there is no reason to doubt that it has preserved an authentic record of the full name of the

⁷⁷ II.27.

⁷⁸ Collected by W. Morel, *FPL* 144–148.

⁷⁹ G. Becker, *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui* (1885), 69–70: bound together, be it noted, with the works of that perennial partner of Dictys the Cretan Dares the Phrygian.

translator: that is, (L.?) Septimius Serenus, later named "Sammonicus."

III. Since the fragments of the poet Septimius Serenus have recently received close attention, only the briefest of remarks are required here.⁸⁰ His poems, as their title implies, were pastoral, often highly artificial, yet sometimes remarkably sensitive. More to the point, his erudition and his metrical experiments have earned for him the significant modern definition as "an archaizer in verse."⁸¹ His dates are quite unknown, but he flourished sometime in the decades around the year 200, for he was the contemporary of the metrician Terentianus Maurus.⁸² Thus chronologically and in his interests he would coincide with the Severan archaizer Serenus Sammonicus, and it should be recalled here that one ancient writer does name Sammonicus as a poet. In one passage the poet Septimius Serenus is quoted by Servius as having suggested that the Gorgons were girls of exceptional beauty: when young men saw them they were struck dumb and motionless, whence the rumor arose that anyone who caught sight of them was turned into stone.⁸³ Who is speaking here, the poet or the pedant?

It must be admitted at once that there is a case to be made against identity. Sidonius Apollinaris, in a passage quoted above, lists his authorities in the matter at hand as Varro, Serenus "not Septimius but Sammonicus," and Censorinus.⁸⁴ This distinction of the two Sereni is also implicit in Servius who refers in some places to the poet Serenus, in other places to the scholar Serenus Sammonicus.⁸⁵ The problem here is more apparent than real. It would be superfluous to demonstrate the inaccuracies of which both bishop and commentator are capable, and one highly apposite example speaks for all: Sidonius Apollinaris was quite capable of splitting into two men a much more important figure than Serenus Sammonicus, that is, into Seneca the philosopher and Seneca the playwright.⁸⁶ Clearly, for him, different books different men. Nevertheless, the problem persists, and it would be foolish to claim as proven fact the identification of the poet with the scholar and translator.

⁸⁰ E. Zaffagno, *Argentea aetas. In memoriam Entii V. Marmorale* (Publ. Ist. Fil. Class., Univ. di Genova 37, 1973), 273; A. Cameron, (above, n.1).

⁸¹ A. Cameron (above, n.1).

⁸² Schanz-Hosius, 27.

⁸³ *Ad Aen.* 7.289.

⁸⁴ *Carm.* 14, pr. 3.

⁸⁵ Serenus: *ad Aen.* 2.15, 6.289, 9.759; Serenus Sammonicus: *ad Georg.* 1.30.

⁸⁶ *Carm.* 9.230 ff. On this passage and others showing Sidonius' general unsoundness in matters of literary history, see R. G. M. Nisbet, *JRS* 68 (1978), 5.

Thus, more cautiously, there could indeed be two men, brothers or other close relatives, one of them distinguished by a second surname and both of them rising to prominence under an exceptionally well-disposed emperor. But, most economically, they were one and the same man.

IV. If all or most of the foregoing conflation is accepted, a figure of considerable interest begins to gain definition. Septimius Serenus Sammonicus is a grand personage at the court of the first African emperor, conversant with Severus himself and his advisers, and tutor to the imperial princes.⁸⁷ And he is a product of the Severan era, that is, surely an African himself (as were most the leading figures in Latin letters in his age) and a client or even relative of the new dynasty. Social position intertwines with prodigious erudition in this age of archaism and the second sophistic, and Serenus Sammonicus is a prime example. By turns a scholar, a translator, and a poet, his large and varied corpus is bound together by the two pre-emptive passions of the day, a taste for grammar and a love for the antique. He is thus an instantly recognizable figure who could easily have sprung from the pages of Aulus Gellius. His poetry is amiable and genteel, of the comfortable type produced among congenial company while relaxing in the country, the pastoral diversion of busy men.⁸⁸ And his erudition is likewise matched to a certain taste in society; as patrons and amateurs of such work, Septimius Severus follows the pattern of Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius, while Aradius Rufinus recalls perhaps a Claudius Severus. Nevertheless, while the type is clear the man himself remains somewhat elusive, lying as he does in what has happily been termed "that penumbra . . . where social, political, and literary history shade into each other."⁸⁹ Fortunately, Dictys Cretensis will cast some light into that shade.

The following passage appears early in Philostratus' life of Apollonius of Tyana:

ἐγένετο Δάμις ἀνὴρ οὐκ ἄσοφος τὴν ἀρχαίαν ποτὲ οἰκῶν Νῆνον· οὗτος τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ προσφιλοσοφήσας ἀποδημίας τε αὐτοῦ ἀναγέγραφεν, ὧν κοινωνῆσαι καὶ αὐτός φησι, καὶ γνώμας καὶ λόγους καὶ ὅποσα ἐς πρόγνωσιν εἶπε. καὶ προσήκων τις τῷ Δάμιδι τὰς δέλτους τῶν ὑπομνημάτων τούτων οὕτω γινωσκομένας ἐς γνῶσιν ἤγαγεν Ἰουλίᾳ τῇ βασιλίδι. μετέχοντι δέ μοι τοῦ περὶ αὐτὴν κύκλου — καὶ γὰρ τοὺς

⁸⁷ Of interest, therefore, is the recently discovered Septimius Serenus, a man of procuratorial rank in Egypt, apparently in 174: *P. Mich.* 616.

⁸⁸ Cf. the earlier so-called "poeta novellus" Annianus at *Noctes Atticae* 20.8.

⁸⁹ T. P. Wiseman, *Cinna the Poet and Other Essays* (1974), 176.

ῥητορικοὺς πάντας λόγους ἐπῆναι καὶ ἡσπάζετο — μεταγράψαι τε προσέταξε τὰς διατριβὰς ταύτας καὶ τῆς ἀπαγγελίας αὐτῶν ἐπιμεληθῆναι, τῷ γὰρ Νινίῳ σαφῶς μὲν, οὐ μὴν δεξιῶς γε ἀπηγγέλλετο.⁹⁰

The sequence reported here should be familiar, for Damis and Dictys are a doublet: Damis is the purported companion and chronicler of the hero Apollonius, Dictys of the hero Idomeneus; Dictys is an obvious rival to Homer, Damis is produced by Philostratus as a counterblast to an unknown Moiragenes; both works are written on tablets; and in subsequent generations they are rediscovered and presented to imperial figures who hand them over to appropriate scholars.⁹¹ And in both cases, perhaps most significantly of all, the publishers of the documents felt free to "recast and edit" their original text. Clearly then the works of Septimius and Philostratus in some way reflect one another. The life of Apollonius was undertaken by Philostratus at the request of Iulia Domna and published some time after her death in 217; this alone should suggest that Septimius' version of Dictys belongs to the Severan age. But what was the precise relationship between Philostratus and himself?

The point of contact lies in contemporary interest in the cult of the hero. It has been persuasively argued that about the time that Philostratus was working on the life of Apollonius he also published a work relevant to it, the *Heroikos*, a dialogue on the validity of heroes and their cults.⁹² One of the interlocutors in it is an amazingly erudite cultivator of vines on the Hellespont opposite the coast of Troy and near the tomb of the hero Protesilaos. With a wealth of evidence he convinces his visitor that the heroes were not mere mortal men but in fact superhuman, demonic creatures well worthy of worship.⁹³ The set piece and conclusion to this is an account of the cult of Achilles which binds it closely to Philostratus' other work on Apollonius, for that sage had a special interest in the cult. There is a particular point of reference in all of this: the emperor Caracalla, son of Iulia Domna, also had a special regard for both Apollonius, to whom he built a *heroön*, and for Achilles, whose tomb in the Troad he visited as Apollonius had done, honoring it with games and sacrifices.⁹⁴ In short, in both the life of Apollonius

⁹⁰ I.3.

⁹¹ First noticed, I believe, by W. Speyer, *JbAC* 17 (1974), 48 ff.

⁹² F. Solmsen, *TAPA* 71 (1940), 556.

⁹³ Text in volume II of Kayser's Philostratus, 128-219. Cf. T. Mantero, *Richerche sull'Heroikos di Filostrato* (1966).

⁹⁴ Dio 77.16.7, 18.4; cf. Herodian 4.8.3 ff. On Achilles: Solmsen (above, n.92), 561 ff.

and the *Heroikos*, Philostratus was writing with one eye to literature and one eye to imperial favor.

Where does Dictys Cretensis, who also wrote about heroes (and heroes of the Trojan War in particular), fit in? It has long been clear that the *Heroikos* reveals its author's familiarity with Dictys' memoirs.⁹⁵ To be precise, the *Heroikos* is in some sense a polemic against Dictys; witness its suggestion that Dictys' hero Idomeneus had never gone to Troy.⁹⁶ Indeed, it requires little imagination to see that the two works are simple ideological opposites. Both take issue with the Homeric account of the Trojan War, but where Philostratus raises the heroes at Troy into semidivinities, "Dictys" reduces the war to sober history, and its warriors (including Achilles) to mere men who once upon a time fought and died. Whether deliberate or not, the circulation of Dictys' memoirs has particular significance in an age concerned with the true nature of the heroes. The question then becomes: where does their translator Septimius fit in?

The other interlocutor in the *Heroikos* is not completely without character. He is said to be a Phoenician, a visitor from the land of Sidon and Tyre, and he is presented as a man skeptical of myths not vouched for by eyewitnesses. Whyever a Phoenician? His origin is not of the slightest relevance to the contents of the *Heroikos*, though we are constantly reminded of it when the character, simply called Phoenix, speaks. But the skeptical Phoenician (who of course departs convinced) might be relevant to the translator Septimius, who had given the world a rival interpretation of the figures at Troy. After all, he pointedly defined himself as "avidos verae historiae." And it was suggested above that there was a Punic and African motive behind the dedication of the Latin Dictys, by a Septimius, to an Aradius Rufinus, and under an African emperor. Moreover, here there is a pointed contrast to be made between the Latin Dictys and, not the *Heroikos*, but the closely related life of Apollonius, for it is striking that around the same time a Syrian empress should receive the Greek life of Apollonius from a Syrian (the unnamed descendant of Damis); and it will be remembered that the circle of Iulia Domna, of which Philostratus was a member, was established as a refuge from the enmity of the African praetorian prefect, Plautianus.⁹⁷ Here we seem to have arrived at the intersection

⁹⁵ Accepted since H. Grentrup, *De Heroici Philostratei fabularum fontibus* (diss. Münster, 1914), 46 ff (which I have not seen); cf. Solmsen (above, n.92), and F. Huhn and E. Bethe, *Hermes* 52 (1917), 618 f.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Dio 75.15.6 f; on the membership of the circle, see G. W. Bowersock, *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire* (1969), 101 ff.

of literature and politics, that grey penumbra where motives are complex and no action is simple. The full history will never be known, but one observation can be made. The emperor Caracalla was half-African, half-Syrian: to the vices of his Gallic homeland (it was said) he added those of both Africa and Syria.⁹⁸ Miscegenated though he might be, however, there was no question where his sympathies lay. To him the souls of heroes were immortal, he himself was Alexander reincarnated, Achilles and Apollonius lived on. That may not be sufficient to account for the death of Septimius Serenus Sammonicus in the last days of 211, but it will not have helped.

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⁹⁸ Dio 77.6.1.

EXTA AND AVES: AN EMENDATION IN RUFINUS,
ORIGENIS IN NUMEROS HOMILIA 17.2

JERZY LINDERSKI

THE editors of Christian authors have naturally been much more *Christiani* than *Ciceroniani*. Yet the study of Roman antiquities, and in particular of Roman religious terminology, may often be very helpful in discovering the correct sense and correct text of hitherto unintelligible passages. The text of Rufinus, *Origenis in Numeros Homilia* 17.2, offers an instructive example. The text as printed in the authoritative edition by W. A. Baehrens, Origines, *Werke* 7 (Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte 30, Leipzig, 1921), 156, reads as follows (Origenes-Rufinus comment on Num. 24:1 referring to Balaam):

Denique "non abiit" [sc. Balaam] inquit [i.e. Scripture says] "ex more in occursum auspiciis"; non enim more sibi solito, stultis et inanibus sensibus rapietur in animalibus mutis et pecudibus Dei considerans voluntatem, sicut hi, qui ex istis talibus auspicia colligunt, sed agnoscet etiam ipse quia neque "de bobus cura est Deo," similiter neque de ovibus neque de avibus aliisque animalibus, sed si qua de his scripta sunt, propter homines intelliget scripta. [The same text in Migne, *Patr. Graeca*, vol. 20, col. 704]

The phrase *qui ex istis talibus auspicia colligunt* is incomprehensible.¹ We have to read: *qui ex extis et avibus auspicia colligunt*.

The expression *auspicia colligere* seems to have been an augural *terminus technicus*, although it is attested only in late Latin authors. Servius *auctus* in his comment on *Aen.* 3.246 speaks of *auspicii genus . . . secundum augures, quod de diris colligitur, quorum unum genus est quod de signis colligitur*. At *Aen.* 4.453 he mentions *genus ominis . . . de augurali disciplina translatum . . . qua e² diris observatur*, and informs us that *dira*

My thanks go to Professor Agnes Michels, who very kindly agreed to read a draft of this note.

¹ Baehrens does not list any variant readings or conjectures. H. Méhat (ed.), Origène, *Homélie sur les Nombres* (Sources Chrétiennes 29 [Paris 1951]) 341, follows the text of Baehrens and translates the passage in question as *qui en tirent des présages*.

² *qua e* ed. Harv. *quae* Thilo.

enim deorum ira est, quae duplici modo colligitur, aut ex signis aut quocumque modo aut quacumque ex parte (cf. also 5.7). Ammianus Marcellinus 21.1.9 uses the same expression with respect to *aves*: *auguria et auspicia non volucrum arbitrio . . . colliguntur . . . sed volatus avium dirigit deus*.³ Now as we learn from Festus (Paulus) 316, 317 L. *quinque genera signorum observant augures publici: ex caelo, ex avibus, ex tripudis, ex quadripedibus, ex diris*. In Servius *auctus* and Ammianus Marcellinus the expression *colligo* assumes part of the meaning of the traditional augural term *obseruo*.⁴ In the language of the augurs this term denoted both the perception of a sign and its interpretation and classification according to the rules codified once and for ever in the augural books.⁵ In the text of Rufinus, in view of these examples the emendation *qui ex . . . avibus auspicia colligunt* suggests itself.

Although augury and extispicine formed two separate branches of divination, *exta* and *aves* appear frequently juxtaposed,⁶ and the term *auspicia* was occasionally used with respect to the inspection of entrails.⁷ The term *colligo* also appears in connection with the interpretation of *exta*, Serv. on Verg. *Georg.* 3.491: *Colligi enim nisi ex sana victima futura non possunt*.⁸ The expression *ex extis auspicia colligere* would hardly have passed scrutiny of a republican augur, but linguisti-

³ Cf. Amm. Marc. 30.5.7: *per portam voluit* (sc. Valentinianus) *unde introiit exire, ut omen colligeret, quod cito remeabit ad Gallias*.

⁴ This meaning of *colligo* seems also to be present at Min. Fel. 26.1 *auspicia et auguria Romana . . . summo labore collecta*, where *collecta* means not only "collected," but also describes the *auspicia* of which the correct interpretation had been established *summo labore*, or, as Cicero would have said, *observatione diuturna* (cf. *de div.* 1.34, 72; 2.26). In his translation of *Octavius* (Coll. Budé, Paris 1974) J. Beaujeu has misunderstood this passage.

⁵ At the same time in the phrase (*diras*) *quocumque modo et quacumque ex parte colligere* (Serv. auct. *Aen.* 4.453) *colligo* has the sense of *conicio*, i.e., it refers to the method of interpretation *subito ex tempore* (Cic. *de div.* 1.72) by means of *ratio* and *coniectura*. For a detailed discussion of the augural concepts of *observatio*, *obseruo*, *coniectura*, and *auspicia colligere*, see J. Linderski, "The Augural Law," *ANRW*, Teil II, 16.3, chap. IV, 2 (forthcoming). Cf. also *TLL* s.v. *colligo*, col. 1617, line 10 ff; P. Regell *De augurum publicorum libris* (diss. Vratislaviae 1878) 3-7; Idem, *Commentarii in librorum auguralium fragmenta specimen* (Progr. Hirschberg 1893) 20, n.52; W. Hübner, *Dirae im römischen Epos* (Spudasmata 21 [Hildesheim 1970]) 28-29.

⁶ See, e.g., Liv. 2.42.10; Sen. *Quaest. Nat.* 2.42; Amm. Marc. 21.1.9-10.

⁷ Festus 286 L. s.vv. *piacularia* and *pestifera auspicia*. This reflects, however, Etruscan rather than Roman divinatory lore; cf. C. O. Thulin, *Die etruskische Disciplin*, Teil 2 (Göteborg, 1906; reprint, Darmstadt, 1968) 8-10.

⁸ Cf. Lact. Plac. on Stat. *Theb.* 4.468: *Ars autem haruspicina hoc habet, ut et turis motus et crepitus et fumi motus et flexus colligat, quoniam haec primum signa aut testantur extorum promissis, si bona sint, aut, si contraria, refragantur*.

cally it is a perfectly correct phrase, and we should not hesitate to restore it in the text of Rufinus.

In the following sentence Rufinus mentions *boves*, *oves*, and again *aves*; his mention of birds points back to the *auspicia ex avibus*, and of oxen and sheep to the *extā*. Sheep and oxen were two kinds of sacrificial victims which were most frequently used for extispicine.⁹

Rufinus' use of Roman divinatory terminology is quite remarkable; at 17.3 he writes: *qui divinationi et auguriis operam dedit*. The phrase *auspiciis* (*auspicio*) or *auguriis* (*augurio*) *operam dare* can be traced back to the very beginning of Roman literature. It is found already in Ennius (*Ann.* 78 V.).¹⁰

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⁹ See the passages collected by G. Blecher, *De extispicio capita tria* (RgVV II 4 [Giessen 1905]) 11 ff, and by A. S. Pease ad Cic. *de div.* 1.119 (Urbana, 1920; reprint, Darmstadt, 1963).

¹⁰ Cf. also Cic. *Fam.* 10.12.3; Festus 276.26 L.; Varro, *de ling. Lat.* 6.91 (Bergk's emendation).

EI AND THE EDITORS OF APOLLONIUS OF TYRE

JOHN HUNT

BY *Apollonius of Tyre* I mean the A (or AP) recension, as edited by A. Riese in *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri* (Leipsig, 1893).¹ Codex A transmits only about a third of the tale, codex P the whole; and it was not until M. Ring discovered and edited P (Posen–Leipsig, 1888) that the world had an *editio princeps* of the recension. By editors I mean Ring and Riese, but primarily Riese, whose text, building on that of Ring, may and must be said to constitute the vulgate. My theme is the treatment of the dative singular pronoun *ei* in three passages. In one it is falsely restored by conjecture, in another falsely positioned by conjecture, and in yet another, though rightly construed by Riese, wrongly construed by a subsequent scholar.

99.5–7 Cumque haec et his similia puella flens diceret, in amplexu illius ruens Apollonius coepit flens prae gaudio *ei* dicere “tu es filia mea Tharsia . . .”

ei editors, *et* AP. But *et* must not be touched; the peccant word in this passage is rather the *flens* of “coepit *flens*.” Read *flere*: “coepit *flere* prae gaudio *et* dicere . . .” Only thus will it be possible to respect the corresponding rendition of the B recension and the style at large of the AP recension itself. B renders “Cucurrit et Athenagora . . . et inuenit Apollonium super collum Tharsiae *flentem et dicentem* ‘haec est filia mea Tharsia . . .’” And in AP observe the following: 46.14–15 “coepit amarissime *flere atque dicere*,” 97.11–12 “sedens puella coepit *flere et cum magno maerore dicere*,” 107.1–2 “coepit in conspectu Dianae haec *effari atque cum fletu magno dicere*.”² *flere* will have become *flens* by virtue of the “*flens diceret . . . ruens*” before or the “*quam flens*” after (line 9).

¹ Citation is by page and line of this edition. When I quote as a check the independent B recension, I specifically say so; the text of B appears on the lower half of Riese’s page.

² Also 31.9–10 “Discumbentes una cum rege in laude *clamare coeperunt et dicere*,” 80.14–81.1 “Accedens ad nauem Apollonii *coepit stare et mirari*,” 100.3–4 “in publico in foro in curia *clamare coepit et dicere*.”

115.8-10 [sc. Hellenicus] secutus est eum et procedenti Apollonio obtulit se *et ei* dixit "domine rex, memor esto Hellenici serui tui!"

et ei editors, *ei et P* (*testis solus*). But here again the received correction, though facile, is futile; it creates a word order altogether alien to the style of the AP recension. One expects *et dixit ei*. Consider the following passages, where forms of *dico* similarly introduce direct speech: 8.3-5 "Et . . . Antiochus rex uocat ad se dispensatorem suum . . . nomine Taliarchum *et dicit ei*," 56.4 "Nutrix uero eius eleuans se *dixit ei*," 70.3-4 "Haec dicens protulit XL aureos et dedit in manu uirginis *et dicit ei*," 75.9-10 "Quem uidens Stranguillio de longe perrexit . . . ad uxorem suam *dicens ei*" (*dicens ei* = *et dixit ei*), 89.5-6 "prouoca eum ad lumen exire *dicens ei*" (*dicens ei* = *et dic ei*), 109.8 "Et ostendit ei Tharsiam *et dixit ei*."³ *Ei* then, if it is to remain in our passage, must take, relative to the verb which governs it, an enclitic position; but need it in fact remain? Elsewhere in AP forms of *dico* introducing direct speech often have no complement, pronominal or other; compare passages like 67.2-3 "leno in praesenti dat C sestertia auri *et dicit*." Simpler therefore to correct to "obtulit se [ei] et dixit" ("obtulit se et ait" B). *Ei* will have arisen as a dittograph of *ET*.

26.10-14 Rex ait [sc. famulo] "uade celerius et dic illi: rogat te rex, ut ad cenam uenias." Et cum dixisset *ei*, acquieuit Apollonius et eum ad domum regis secutus est. Famulus prior ingressus dicit regi "adest naufragus . . ."

Thus Riese in 1893. But in 1899 E. Klebs decided otherwise: he quoted the text as "et cum dixisset, ei acquieuit Apollonius," adding in parenthesis "so ist zu interpungiren."⁴ He gave no reason; his immediate business was merely to illustrate *acquiescere* = *folgen, gehorchen*, and we are therefore left to infer that, because his parallels contain an expressed dative, he desired an expressed dative here.⁵ If so, no need: in the corresponding passage of the B recension (and often elsewhere in Latin) we find the verb absolute. One merit Klebs's punctuation appears to have — it makes *ei . . . eum* refer to the same person, the *famulus*,

³ Also, in the B recension, 15.6-7 "Et uale *dicens ei* discessit" (*dicens* AP), 36.12 "et dat Apollonio *dicens ei*" (*dicens* AP), 115.2 "Dixit *ei*" ("Et intuens eum Apollonius ait" AP).

⁴ *Die Erzählung von Apollonius aus Tyrus* (Berlin, 1899), p. 237.

⁵ Suet. *Vitell.* 14.5 "muliere cui uelut oraculo adquiescebat," id. *Tit.* 7.2 "amicos elegit, quibus etiam post eum principes ut et sibi et rei p. necessariis adquieuerunt," Ulpian. *Dig.* 38.1.7.1 "et ego Celso adquiesco," ibid. 24.3.22.6 "patri adquiescere." In the first two parallels the relative pronoun (unlike the demonstrative *ei*) must be expressed.

rather than the former to Apollonius and the latter to the *famulus*. Yet in so doing it prevents "dixisset *ei*" from being the echo it obviously is of the "dic *illi*" in the *rex*'s preceding speech. Note too the next sentence: "Famulus . . . dicit *regi*." The sequence will then be dic *illi* . . . dixisset *ei* . . . dicit *regi*, the subject in every case the *famulus* and the indirect object in every case expressed. By common consent here *acquiescere* means "obey" (*gehorschen* Klebs, *oboedire* Riese in his index); but does this not involve, in Klebs's interpretation, a slight but real impropriety? For in "*ei* acquieuit Apollonius" Apollonius obeys a servant when strictly he should be obeying *the king*, should be "complying with" *the king's request*.⁶ With *acquieuit* absolute he does by implication precisely as he should; the ellipse will be something like *mandato regis*, thereby interposing the king as, in effect, a *tertium quid* and thereby removing any ambiguity of reference in the repeated *ei* . . . *eum* (*supra*). The sense is: "And when the servant had told this to Apollonius, Apollonius obeyed (sc. the king's request) and followed the servant to the king's palace."⁷ Lest anyone think this line of argumentation too subtle, there is a more tangible objection: the word order. Klebs's notions of word order do not unfortunately conform to those of AP; had the author of AP so intended, he would doubtless have written "acquieuit *ei* Apollonius," as he wrote "occurrit *ei* alius homo" at 15.9 and "Respondit *ei* Apollonius" at 93.10.⁸ Riese was right.

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⁶ I owe this point to R. Renehan, who has beneficially criticized the entire paper in typescript.

⁷ Compare the text of the B recension: "Apollonius ut audiuit, adqueuit et ducente famulo peruenit ad regem."

⁸ See further 53.5-6 "Et dedit *ei* decem sestertia auri," 69.1-2 "Fecit uillicus, quod iusserat *ei* dominus suus leno," 101.12-13 "atque detonso capite diadema imponunt *ei*," 115.7 "indicauerat *ei* omnia." For *ei* with this very verb see *Deut.* 13.8 "non acquiescas *ei* nec audias."

THE CULTS AND THE LEGEND OF OEDIPUS

LOWELL EDMUNDS

THE relation of the cults to the legend¹ of Oedipus has heretofore been studied only for the purpose of showing the priority of one or the other. Carl Robert believed that the Eteonos cult was the source of the legend.² Despite the reverence in which Robert's work is still held, there is probably no one who would now assent to its main thesis. L. R. Farnell, on the other hand, maintained that all the cults of Oedipus were derived from epic poetry.³ He wished to make this point about

¹ In speaking of the Oedipus "legend," I am following William Bascom, "The Forms of Folklore," *Journal of American Folklore* 78 (1965) 3-20, who distinguishes between myth, legend, and folktale with respect to characters (divine vs. human), time, setting, etc. Legends are set in a time less remote than that of myths, in a world much like that of the narrator and his audience, and the characters are humans, not gods. G. S. Kirk, in *Myth: Its Meaning and Function in Ancient and Other Cultures* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1970), p. 40, n.57, doubts one of Bascom's criteria, time, but Kirk preserves the distinctions between legend and myth (p. 34) and between myth and folktale (pp. 37, 41). In Kirk's *The Nature of Greek Myths* (Penguin Books, 1974), the first distinction is denied (pp. 25-26), although it is probably still implicit in the division of the material into "Myths of the Gods and the Early History of Man" (ch. 6), on the one hand, and, on the other, "The Heroes" (ch. 7), "The Mythical Life of Heracles" (ch. 8), and "The Development of the Hero Myth" (ch. 9). Although Kirk thus uses "myth" of both gods and heroes, he seems to regard the stories concerning gods and heroes as falling into distinct categories. The distinction between myth and folktale is preserved in the second book (pp. 33-34).

² Carl Robert, *Oidipus: Geschichte eines poetischen Stoffs im griechischen Altertum* (Berlin, 1915) 2 vols. O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte*, vol. 1 (1906), pp. 503-507, argues that Oedipodes / Oedipus and Iocaste / Epikaste are originally cult-names of Hephaestus and Hera. O. Höfer, "Oidipus," in Roscher, vol. 3, cols. 742-743, sets out the various chthonic associations of the names of Oedipus' foster parents.

³ L. R. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality* (Oxford, 1921), pp. 332-334. M. P. Nilsson, *GGR*, vol. 1, p. 188, observes that the names of the heroes of cult were taken from myth and epic poetry and uses Oedipus as an example. In "Der Oidipusmythus," *Opuscula Selecta*, vol. 1 (Lund, 1951), pp. 335-348 = *GGA* 184 (1922) 36-46, Nilsson spoke of the name Oedipus as a "typischer redender Märchenname" and regarded the name as confirmation that Oedipus was originally "eine Märchenfigur und keine Kultgestalt." A. H. Krappe, "La légende d'Oedipe est-elle un conte bleu?" *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 43 (1933) 11-29 and Fritz Wehrli, "Oidipus," *MH* 14 (1957) 108-117 = *Theoria und Humanitas* (Zurich and Munich, 1972), pp. 60-71, both argue that the Oedipus legend is a deliberate artistic creation.

a whole row of Greek heroes. Though Farnell's thesis may still seem to have some plausibility, its foundation has been shaken by recent work on hero cult and on epic.⁴ In short, nothing is to be gained by taking one side or the other in the old debate over Oedipus' original condition. It is productive, however, to look for combinations of evidence from the traditions of cult on the one hand and the traditions of poetry on the other. The goal of this approach is not to establish the priority of a chthonic or a legendary Oedipus but to reconstruct a figure, or at least the principle traits of a figure, who could have given rise both to the cults and to the character in poetry.

The reconstruction requires in the first place a demonstration of the independence of the cultic Oedipus from the Oedipus of poetry. Although Farnell's thesis may now be open to general doubt, it is necessary to show that the particular case of Oedipus cannot be explained on this thesis. Farnell himself, though he doubted even Colonus as a cult-place of Oedipus, granted that Sophocles' *Oedipus at Colonus* had "a certain foundation of fact" guaranteed by Pausanias' observation of a heroön of Oedipus and Adrastus there (1.30.4).⁵ As for the evidence for a cult of Oedipus at Colonus provided by Androtion, Farnell took it as entirely negative, though he implicitly recognized that Androtion is independent of Sophocles.⁶ Androtion "does not mention any cult of him or of the Semnai in that village."⁷ The omission of the Semnai in

⁴ On the *contemporaneity* of the origins of hero cult and Homeric epic, see A. M. Snodgrass, *The Dark Age of Greece: An Archaeological Survey of the Eleventh to Eighth Centuries* (Edinburgh, 1971), pp. 192-194, and "The Origins of Greek Hero-Cult," presented at the Convegno Internazionale sulla Ideologia Funeraria nel Mondo Antico, Naples, Dec. 6-10, 1977. Funeral games in epic may intimate cult: see D. S. Sinos, "The Entry of Achilles into Greek Epic" (diss., Johns Hopkins University, 1975), ch. 4, and Gregory Nagy, *The Best of the Achaeans* (Baltimore and London, 1979), ch. 6, sect. 30. E. Rohde, *Psyche*, trans. W. B. Hillis (New York, 1925), pp. 12-17 had already pointed out common elements in cult and the funeral games for Patroclus.

⁵ Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults*, p. 332.

⁶ The scholium (on Hom. *Od.* 11.271 = *FGrH* 324F62) preserving Androtion on Oedipus is obviously a conflation of two or more sources, as the change from Epikaste to Iocaste shows. It is impossible to say what is from Androtion and what is not. The part of the scholium on Oedipus at Colonus diverges almost entirely from Sophocles. Thus one can conclude either that "the writer seems to have no idea of the real situation" (Jacoby in *FGrH* 3b2, p. 154), the "real situation" being that of *OC*, or that the scholiast is not following Sophocles but some other source (a possibility not considered by Jacoby). At least the first part of the scholium, with its reference to horse-herders from Sikyon as the rescuers of the infant Oedipus, is certainly independent of Sophocles and perhaps also of Euripides, who has horseherders (*Phoen.* 27) but does not name their provenience.

⁷ Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults*, p. 333.

Androtion's account might be due to its brevity; but if Sophocles really did invent the holy grove of the Semnai at Colonus, and thus presented his audience with a landscape which they knew was fictitious, his association of Oedipus with the Semnai is all the more striking and all the more in need of explanation. As for cult, it is true that Androtion does not explicitly mention cult, but when he says that Oedipus dwelt (ῥῥησεν) at Colonus, his language has a cultic ring.⁸

Although Farnell granted, on the basis of Sophocles taken with the passage of Pausanias cited above, that Oedipus arrived at Colonus as a hero, this was merely a hero derived from epic poetry and not a "chthonic deity." Since Oedipus was only an "epic" hero and not a "real" hero, it was unnecessary to combine the evidence concerning Colonus with the evidence for a cult of Oedipus in a precinct of Demeter at Eteonos, where again Oedipus is spoken of as a "suppliant," as in OC 241 and 284. The sources for the Eteonos cult is the Alexandrian Lysimachus (*FGrH* 382F2).⁹

Οἰδίπου δὲ τελευτήσαντος καὶ τῶν φίλων ἐν Θήβαις θάπτειν αὐτὸν διανοομένων. ἐκώλουν οἱ Θηβαῖοι διὰ τὰς προγεγεννημένας συμφορὰς ὡς ὄντος ἀσεβοῦς· οἱ δὲ κομίσαντες αὐτὸν εἰς τινα τόπον τῆς Βοιωτίας καλούμενον Κεόν, ἔθαψαν αὐτόν. γινομένης δὲ τοῖς ἐν τῇ κώμῃ κατοικοῦσιν ἀτυχημάτων τινῶν, οἰθθέντες αἰτίαν εἶναι τὴν Οἰδίπου ταφὴν, ἐκέλευον τοὺς φίλους ἀναιρεῖν αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς χώρας· οἱ δὲ ἀπορούμενοι τοῖς συμβαίνουσιν, ἀνελόντες ἐκόμισαν εἰς Ἑτewονόν. βουλόμενοι δὲ λάθραι τὴν ταφὴν ποιήσασθαι, καταθάπτουσι νυκτὸς ἐν ἱερῶι Δῆμητρος, ἀγνοήσαντες τὸν τόπον. καταφανοὺς δὲ γενομένου, πέμψαντες οἱ τὸν Ἑτewονὸν κατοικοῦντες τὸν θεὸν ἐπηρώτων τί ποιῶσιν, ὃ δὲ θεὸς εἶπεν μὴ κινεῖν τὸν ἱκέτην τῆς θεοῦ, διόπερ αὐτοῦ τέθαπται. τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν Οἰδιπόδειον κληθῆναι.

When Oedipus died, his friends thought to bury him in Thebes. But the Thebans, holding that he was an impious person on account of the

⁸ See LSJ⁹ s.v. οἶκος I.3 and cf. A. Henrichs, "Despoina Kybele," *HSCP* 80 (1976) 278 and n.70. With Androtion's ῥῥησεν, cf. OC 27 (ἐξοικίσμιος), 28, 39 (οἰκητός), 92 (οἰκήσαντα), 362 (κατοικοίης), 637 (κατοικῶ: Theseus of Oedipus). Oedipus is an οἰκητήρ (627); the people of Colonus are οἰκήτορες (728). On the distinction between -τηρ and -τωρ, see E. Benveniste, *Noms d'agent et noms d'action en indo-européen* (Paris, 1948), p. 47. The -τηρ suffix suggests the function of Oedipus' habitation of Colonus (pp. 45, 55). Of the places from OC just cited, the most important is 627, where the phrase οἰκητῆρα δέξασθαι occurs. For this verb in the sense of welcoming a god or hero in his new habitation, see Henrichs, in the article just cited, n.71. The anonymous referee adds the following: Eur. *Bacch.* 312, 769-770; Paus. 1.37.2; Ant. Lib. 24.1 (ὑπο-); schol. Nic. *Ther.* 484 (ὑπο-); Ps.-Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.14.7 (ὑπο-).

⁹ Gudeman, *RE* 27, col. 32, no. 20. (Lysimachus gives an unknown Arizelus as his source.)

misfortunes which had befallen him in earlier times, prevented them from so doing. They carried him therefore to a certain place in Boeotia called Keos and buried him there. But the inhabitants of the village, being visited with sundry misfortunes, attributed them to the burying of Oedipus and bade his friends remove him from their land. The friends, perplexed by these occurrences, took him up and brought him to Eteonos. Wishing to bury him secretly, they interred him by night in the sanctuary of Demeter — for they did not know the locality. When the facts transpired, the inhabitants of Eteonos asked the god what they should do. The god bade them not to move the suppliant of the goddess. So Oedipus is buried there and the sanctuary is called Oedipodeion.¹⁰

Farnell took note of "the interesting statement" that the temple of Demeter at Eteonos was called "Oedipodeion" but again he was content to assert that Oedipus was not a chthonic hero, resting his case on general considerations: "Against any such theory about him is the important fact that neither his name nor his legend is hieratic and that Thebes, his real abode, has no tradition of him at all except as a mortal king of tragic history. His cult is extraneous and cannot be dated to a very early period."¹¹ Thus Farnell avoids the indications of Oedipus' association with Demeter, which are clear enough in Lysimachus and are perhaps to be found in Androtion, too.¹² This is an association which, whether or not it shows that Oedipus was a chthonic hero, cannot, so far as we know, be derived from epic poetry. Furthermore, Farnell fails to take account of the passages in Sophocles' *Oedipus Coloneus*, pointed out by Robert,¹³ which clearly reflect a tradition that Oedipus was buried not in but near Thebes, and could thus allude to Eteonos. It should also be remembered that Pindar, *Pyth.* 4.263-269 (462-461 B.C.) may indicate that Oedipus was already known as an

¹⁰ The translation given here is, with very minor changes, that of A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, vol. 2, part 2 (Cambridge, 1925), p. 1152.

¹¹ Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults*, p. 334.

¹² Androtion says that, at Colonus, Oedipus was a suppliant in a *hieron* of Demeter and Athena Poliouchos. If *hieron* means "sacred place" and not "temple" (cf. Thuc. 4.90.2), then there is in principle nothing amiss in Androtion's statement. A sacred place could contain the altars of more than one god; Colonus was such a place (Soph. *OC* 54-61, 1070-73). As for the goddesses mentioned by Androtion, the presence of Demeter is confirmed by Soph. *OC* 1600. The "hill of Demeter" was visible from the grove of the Semnai. The presence of Athena is confirmed by Soph. *OC* 1070-71 and Paus. 1.30.4, but this is Athena Hippiia. What weakens the testimony of Androtion is, then, his notion that it was Athena Poliouchos who was worshiped at Colonus.

¹³ Robert, *Oedipus*, vol. 1, pp. 8-9. The lines in *OC* are 399-400, 406-407, 784-786.

exile.¹⁴ In Aeschylus, *Septem* 914 and 1004 (467 B.C.) and in Sophocles, *Antigone*, 899–902 (441 B.C.?), Oedipus is buried in Thebes, and this is the epic tradition.¹⁵ Oedipus the exile, the wanderer, and the suppliant of Demeter — this Oedipus cannot be explained as a derivation from epic poetry. Contrary to Farnell, the Oedipus who shares a precinct with Demeter belongs in the company of other heroes who share precincts with deities — Phaethon with Aphrodite, Pelops with Zeus, Hyacinth with Apollo, Erechtheus with Athena, Heracles with Demeter, Demophoön with Demeter, Asclepius with Apollo, and Hippolytus with Aphrodite.¹⁶

As for Oedipus' association with the Erinyes, Farnell might seem to be on firmer ground, since this association is present in nearly all of Oedipus' appearances in poetry, epic and tragic. Therefore Farnell can attribute the oracle that caused the Aegids of Sparta to found a cult of the Erinyes of Laius and Oedipus (Hdt. 4.149.2) "to the Panhellenic influence of the epic on the minds of the Delphic priesthood."¹⁷ But the notion of the Erinyes of both Laius and Oedipus gives one pause. In *Od.* 11.271–280, it is the Erinyes of his mother that troubles Oedipus. In *Thebaid* frag. 2.8 Allen, "it (or he) did not escape the notice of the gods' Erinyes" when Oedipus cursed his sons, and this is the curse that becomes thematic in the *Septem*¹⁸ and in Euripides' *Phoenissae* and is dramatized in *Oedipus Coloneus*. An Erinyes of Laius is nowhere attested

¹⁴ Robert surprisingly omits mention of Pind. *Pyth.* 4. B. L. Gildersleeve, *Pindar: The Olympian and Pythian Odes* (New York, 1890; repr. Amsterdam, 1965), p. 301 on 263 states: "P., to whom all Theban lore was native, is repeating a parable of Oedipus, and, if I mistake not, a parable of Oedipus in exile." Others, for example, R. W. B. Burton, *Pindar's Pythian Odes* (Oxford, 1962), pp. 168–169, have taken it as a parable of Damophilus. Everything depends upon how one understands γνῶθι νῦν τὰν Οἰδιπόδα σοφίαν (263). I do not see how this can mean, "Be as clever as Oedipus at solving riddles." It must mean, "Grasp the wisdom, i.e., parable or riddle, concerning Oedipus" or "the wisdom that Oedipus told (of himself)."

¹⁵ Hom. *Od.* 11.271–280, *Il.* 23.677–680; Hes. frags. 192–193 M.-W.; cf. Aesch. *Sept.* 914, 1004; Soph. *Antig.* 899–902. On the Hes. frags., see Robert, *Oedipus*, vol. 1, pp. 116–117.

¹⁶ For references to and discussion of the first six pairs, see A. D. Nock, *HSCP* 41 (1930) 45–46 = *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World*, ed. Z. Stewart (Cambridge, Mass., 1972), pp. 237–238. See also West's note on *Theog.* 991. For Asclepius and Apollo, see Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults*, pp. 254–256. For Hippolytus and Aphrodite, see W. S. Barrett, *Euripides: Hippolytus* (Oxford, 1964), p. 5.

¹⁷ Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults*, p. 333.

¹⁸ See F. Solmsen, "The Erinyes in Aischylos' *Septem*," *TAPA* 68 (1937) 197–211 = *Kleine Schriften* (Hildesheim, 1968), vol. 1, pp. 106–120.

in poetry.¹⁹ If the Delphic priests had something definite in mind in ordering a cult of the Erinyes of both Laius and Oedipus, it is not clear from literary evidence, certainly not from epic, what it was.

The Aegids of Sparta were originally from Thebes as Pindar, *Isth.* 7.15 and Herodotus 4.147-149 attest. Pausanias 9.5.14-15, where the Erinyes of Laius and Oedipus are again mentioned, and where the four generations that he names correspond exactly with the first four named by Herodotus,²⁰ helps to explain why the Aegids were instructed to found such a cult. In Pausanias, it is Autesion, one of the ancestors of the Aegids and a lineal descendant of the Labdacids, who is afflicted by the Erinyes of Laius and Oedipus. Pausanias says: "The wrath of the Erinyes of Laius and Oedipus did not fall on Tisamenus, but upon Autesion, the son of Tisamenus, so that he emigrated [from Thebes] to the Dorians, at the oracle's bidding." Pausanias does not say what form the wrath took. As for the absence of the wrath in the case of Tisamenus, the context suggests that it was a matter of Tisamenus' not having been killed in the second expedition against Troy, in which he was too young to take part.

Pausanias' words imply that it was the expectation that the Erinyes of Laius and Oedipus would cause suffering in every generation. It must have been because of this belief that the Delphic priests gave the instructions to the Aegids that are reported in Herodotus, and, contrary to Farnell, this belief would have been part of ancestral tradition.

The influence of epic cannot explain the origin of the cult at Sparta, and still less can it explain the remarkable parallelism between the circumstances of the Aegids in Sparta and the nature of the plague described in the opening of Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus*.²¹ Herodotus

¹⁹ There are a few places in which an Erinyes of Laius is suggested. The Erinyes watches Oedipus kill Laius and then destroys Oedipus' own sons (Pind. *Ol.* 2.45-46) and Teiresias speaks of the double curse of Oedipus' mother and father which will drive him from Thebes someday (Soph. *OT* 417-418), a passage in which the adjective *δεινότητος* suggests the Erinyes (see n.22 below). In Eur. *Phoen.* 1611, Oedipus speaks of himself as passing on to his sons the curse of his father. But there is no explicit mention of the Erinyes of Laius, despite the fact that the Erinyes itself had its origin in a crime of son against father. The Erinyes was born of Earth from the blood of Uranus' severed genitals (Hes. *Theog.* 185), and later, Rhea wanted Cronus to make atonement to the Erinyes of Uranus (*Theog.* 472). In origin, then, the Erinyes stands for the father's vengeance, and it is curious that, in the Oedipus legend, the Erinyes paternal vengeance is connected much more closely with Oedipus and his sons than with Laius and Oedipus.

²⁰ Polyneices — Thersander — Tisamenus — Autesion — Theras — Oiolykos — Aegeus (Hdt. 4.147.2, 149).

²¹ The plague is not part of the outline of Oedipus' life given in *Od.* 11.271-280. Whether or not the plague appeared in the *Oedipodeia* cannot be ascertained.

says that the children of the Aegids did not survive (4.149). In *Oedipus Tyrannus*, the plague not only causes the citizens to die of disease (27-30, 175-177), but there is a general blight on crops, animals, and humans (25-27, 171-174). The blight on humans takes the form of stillbirths. In this latter respect, the plight of the Spartan Aegids and of the Thebans is the same. Furthermore, the Oedipus whose aid is sought by the Thebans in the prologue of *Oedipus Tyrannus* proves to be the cause of their sufferings, just as the Erinyes of Laius and Oedipus are identified as the cause of the Aegids'. This parallelism is hardly to be explained by epic influence, and with this conclusion, the critique of Farnell reaches an end. The purpose of the critique was to show how much there is that cannot be explained by his thesis. To have shown that the cults cannot be derived from epic is not, of course, to have shown that the cults are prior to epic, but such a demonstration was not intended. For the present study, it is enough to establish that the cults and the poetry are independent of one another. Since they are independent, the method of combination is legitimate, and the figure that emerges from the combinations will be a valid reconstruction.

It would be more plausible to explain the parallelism of Oedipus and the Erinyes by a traditional association of the two. His name is a -πους compound; so are several epithets of the Erinyes.²² The shade of Oedipus can even take on an epithet of the Erinyes and be identified with the Erinyes (Aesch. *Sept.* 976-977 = 987-988): πότνια τ' Οἰδίπου σκιά, / μέλαινα' Ἐρινύς, ἥ μεγασθενής τις εἶ. Oedipus is connected with five places in which the Erinyes received cult: Sicyon,²³ Potniai,²⁴

²² καμψίπους (Aesch. *Sept.* 791); πολύπους (Soph. *El.* 488; cf. the plant πολυπόδιον, discussed in the text below); τανύπους (Soph. *Aj.* 837); ὑστερόπους (Orph. *Argon.* 1164, where the reminiscence of *Il.* 23.679 is significant); χαλκόπους (Soph. *El.* 490). E. Wüst, "Erinyes," *RE Suppl.* vol. 8, cols. 134-138 gives a list of epithets.

²³ Cult of the Erinyes as Eumenides near Sicyon: Paus. 2.11.4. For Oedipus and Sicyon, see Erich Bethe, *Thebanische Heldenlieder* (Leipzig, 1891) pp. 67-75. The main evidence is schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 26, with which Bethe combines Hyg. *Fab.* 66 and the Homeric cup from Tanagra (*CVA*: France, Fasc. 23: Louvre, Fasc. 15: pp. 9-10; pl. 10, 1-4; Robert, *Oidipus*, vol. 1, p. 326, Abb. 49). The rescuers of the infant Oedipus are horseherders from Sicyon in schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 1760 and Androtion (n.6 above). Sicyon, the eponymous founder of the city, had a daughter Chthonophyle who by Hermes was the mother of Polybus (Paus. 2.6.6; cf. Nic. Dam. *FGh* ii A90F8). Adrastus came to Polybus at Sicyon and later became king of the city (Paus. *ibid.*) On a fragment of a vase from Adria which depicted the parricide, Laius is accompanied by a man called "Sikon" (*CVA*, Italia, fasc. 28, p. 50 and tav. 42; *ARV*², pp. 1029, 19 and 1678-79; Robert, *Oidipus*, vol. 1, p. 288, Abb. 47).

²⁴ Potniai, a town near Thebes, named after the goddesses who were worshiped there, who were Demeter, Kore, and the Erinyes. See Wüst, *RE*

Cithaeron,²⁵ Colonus,²⁶ and the Aeropagus.²⁷ In addition to concrete associations of this sort, there is a more general resemblance between the characteristics of Oedipus and the Erinyes. The Erinyes, as chthonic deities, have two opposite functions: they bring blessings and destruction. Oedipus himself is so characterized by Sophocles. In *Oedipus Tyrannus*, he has had a long prosperous reign after ridding Thebes of the Sphinx, but he is also the cause of the plague, the polluter of the city. He is also presented in this play as having the power to impose a curse of sterility (269–272). In *Oedipus Coloneus*, he curses his sons, but he brings blessings to Attica.²⁸ The parallel functions of Oedipus and the Erinyes in this second play emerge from the words of Oedipus himself (457–460):²⁹

ἐὰν γὰρ ὑμεῖς, ὦ ξένοι, θέληθ' ὁμοῦ
σὺν ταῖσδε ταῖς σεμναῖσι δημούχοις θεαῖς
ἀλκὴν ποιεῖσθαι, τῇδε τῇ πόλει μέγαν
σωτῆρ' ἀρεῖσθε . . .

For if, strangers, with these reverend goddesses who protect the land, you are willing to come to my aid, you will win a great savior for this city . . .

The Erinyes protect the land (cf. 1010–12), and so will Oedipus. The parallel functions may also be implied in Ismene's report that the Thebans have received an oracle according to which they must acquire Oedipus living or dead *εὐσοίας χάριν* (390). The word *εὐσοια* suggests the beneficent side of Oedipus' Erinyes-like power.³⁰ In general, one

Suppl. vol. 8, cols. 91, 130–131. Cf. Soph. OC 84 *πότνιαι δεινῶπες*. Aesch. frag. 173N²: Oedipus killed Laius at Potniai.

²⁵ [Plut.] *de fluv.* 2.3: Cithaeron was a dwelling-place of the Erinyes and was named for an inhabitant who killed his father and brother there. Oedipus was exposed on Cithaeron (Soph. OT 1134, etc.).

²⁶ The source for the Erinyes at Colonus is Soph. OC. For Oedipus at Colonus, in addition to OC, Androtion (n.6 above); Paus. 1.30.4; Eur. *Phoen.* 1705–1707.

²⁷ Paus. 1.28.6–7: Oedipus buried on Areopagus in a precinct of the Erinyes as Semnai. Cf. Val. Max. 5.3.3. See Robert, *Oidipus*, vol. 1, pp. 38–43, on this burial site.

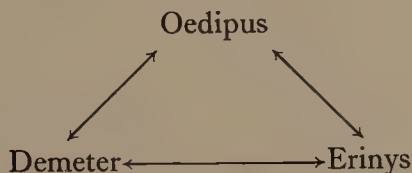
²⁸ See Robert, *Oidipus*, vol. 1, p. 10.

²⁹ *εὐμένειαν* is used of Oedipus (631); *εὐμενῶν* of the Erinyes (486). Cf. also 100, 788, 864–865, 1010–13, 1299, and 1434 for other suggestions of the parallelism.

³⁰ The noun occurs only here, where it is restored from the scholium, and in Soph. frag. 122P = *TrGF* F122 (from the same scholium), from the *Amphitryon*. Syntax and sense are doubtful, but the occurrence of the word *βλάστω* in the context is suggestive. At Theocr. 24.8, the adjective *εὐσοα* is used in Alcmena's prayer for her children, Iphicles and Heracles. Robert, *Oidipus*, vol. 1, p. 10, traces associations of *εὐσοια* which link this word with the Erinyes.

could say that in *Oedipus Coloneus*, Sophocles' characterization of Oedipus is proleptic: Oedipus is already the chthonic hero he will become.³¹

How, then, are Oedipus' two main cultic associations, with Demeter and with the Erinyes, to be reconciled? It happens that Demeter could take the form of the Erinyes (Apollod. 3.6.8), so that each of the three, Demeter, the Erinyes, and Oedipus, is independently connected with the other two:



Together they form a sort of trinity. The question remains, however, why Oedipus is a suppliant of Demeter. Were it not for the reference to Oedipus as suppliant in the Lysimachus scholium and perhaps in Androtion, one would be tempted to refer this aspect of Oedipus to the dramatic form of *Oedipus Coloneus*, which is a "suppliant drama."³² But the character of suppliant rests on something else, namely, the fact that Oedipus is a wanderer.³³

The solitary, wandering hero was fairly common in Greek legend,³⁴ and there was even a hero called Aletes, Wanderer (Pind. *Ol.* 13.14). The wandering of Oedipus is, of course, a part of the legend. It belongs to the narrative concerning Oedipus as distinguished from the cult of Oedipus. And yet the wandering of Oedipus is not simply a narrative motif but derives ultimately from the fact that the hero is a revenant. A

³¹ As G. Méautis, *L'Oedipe à Colone et le culte des héros* (Université de Neuchâtel: Recueil de Travaux 19, 1940), p. 42, observed. One suspects proleptic characterization also in the *Thebaid*. In frag. 2 Allen, the words *παρέθηκε τράπεζαν* (2) and *γέρα* (6) suggest cult. For the practices involved, see David Gill, "Trapezomata: A Neglected Aspect of Greek Sacrifice," *Harvard Theological Review* 67 (1974) 117-137 and especially 121-122 on hero cult. In frag. 3 Allen, from schol. Soph. *OC* 1375, it is clear that Oedipus' sons owe him a *μοῖρα* from the sacrifice. This term is the scholiast's, but, if accurate, would imply cult. See the indices to F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure* (Paris, 1955) and *Lois sacrées des cités grecques* (Paris, 1962) s.v. *μοῖρα*. If this notion of proleptic characterization is applicable to the *Thebaid*, we would better understand the curse of Oedipus on his sons that occurs in both of these fragments. The curse would be the malevolence of the offended hero (see n.40 below).

³² Peter Burian, "Suppliant and Savior," *Phoenix* 28 (1974) 408-429.

³³ See Emile Benveniste, *Le vocabulaire des institutions indo-européennes*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1969), pp. 252-254 on *ἰκέτης*, "suppliant," as *nomen agentis* from the same root of which *ἵκω*, "I come," is the thematic present.

³⁴ Angelo Brelich, *Gli eroi greci* (Rome, 1958), pp. 299-300.

rather full description of this revenant hero is provided in a fragment of Asius (D³, p. 19; West, vol. 2, p. 46):

χωλός, στιγματίας, πολυγήραος, ἴσος ἀλήτηι
ἦλθε κνισοκόλαξ, εὖτε Μέλῃς ἐγάμει,
ἄκκλητος, ζωμοῦ κεχρημένος· ἐν δὲ μέσοισιν
ἦρως εἰστήκει βορβόρου ἐξαναδύς·

Lame, branded, very old, like to a wanderer,
There came a parasite of the sacrifice when Meles
was getting married,
Unbidden, yearning for soup, in the midst of them
the hero stood, rising up from the mire.³⁵

The comparison of Oedipus with this revenant begins with the point that both are wanderers (cf. Soph. *OC* 3, 50, 124–125, 166; cf. 347 and 349, 444, 746, 949, 1096, 1363), but obviously it does not end there. Oedipus is “Swollen Foot,” as the revenant is lame. Oedipus is old (*OC passim*) like the revenant. Oedipus is defiled by the squalor of his clothes, which have even marked his flesh (*OC* 1258–60); the revenant is branded. The comparison even extends to hunger (*OC* 5; cf. *OT* 455: πτωχός), and indeed his son’s failure to provide τροφή is one of the main sources of Oedipus’ anger against them (*OC* 1265–66, 1362–68; cf. Aesch. *Sept.* 786, where the same issue is alluded to, and *Thebaid* frag. 2 Allen, where Oedipus curses his sons because they have sent him the inferior portion of a sacrificial victim).³⁶ The characterization of Oedipus as a revenant is even more explicit in Euripides’ *Phoenissae*. When he first appears on stage, Oedipus asks: “Why have you brought me up to the light out of my dark chamber?” (τί μ’ . . . ἐξάγαγες ἐς φῶς . . . σκοτίων ἐκ θαλάμων, 1540–41) and describes himself as

πολιὸν αἰθέρος ἀφανὲς εἶδωλον ἦ
νέκυν ἔνερθεν ἦ
πτανὸν ὄνειρον

³⁵ My translation assumes that the *heros* of line 4 is the same as the wanderer of line 1. See U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Die Textgeschichte der griechischen Lyriker* (Abh. der königl. Ges. der Wiss. zu Götting., Phil.-Hist. Kl., N.F. 4.3 [Berlin, 1900]), p. 60, n.3, who believes that no real apparition is meant: “er ist . . . kein wirklicher Landstreicher, sondern sieht nur so aus, und κνισοκόλαξ ist auch nicht sein Beruf, sondern steht so wie ἦρως nachher, ohne Vergleichungspartikel.” The hero to whom the unbidden guest is compared is, however, in Wilamowitz’s view, a revenant.

³⁶ The earliest cult hero attested in literature is called Daïtes, “Banqueter” (Mimnermus 18W). D. L. 8.34 records the Pythagorean belief that the crumbs from the table should be left for the heroes and quotes an illustrative line from the *Heroes* of Aristophanes (305 Kock).

a ghost of air, grey, invisible or
dead man from below or
winged dream.³⁷

ἐξ- or ἀνάγειν εἰς φῶς is the *vox propria* for restoring the dead to light and life: see *h. Dem.* 338 (Hermes brings Persephone up from Hades); Aesch. *Ag.* 1021-24 ("him who had right knowledge how to bring [men] up from the dead," i.e. Asclepius); Plato *Rep.* 521c 2-3 ("and how shall one lead the philosophers [from the cave] up to the light, just as some are said to have gone up from Hades to the gods?").³⁸ The revenant Oedipus appears, in fact on two Etruscan vases, the peculiarity of which has not hitherto been explained.³⁹

The revenant hero is as abject as possible, and yet he must be placated, because he has the power to do harm.⁴⁰ Thus suffering is either caused by Oedipus, by his Erinyes (Hdt. 4.149) or by his curse, or it is felt by Oedipus. He causes suffering and he suffers. His own suffering is stressed in the *Odyssey* (11.275, 279-280), and in Hesiod, frag. 193.4 M.-W., his epithet is πολυκηδής.⁴¹ In Euripides, *Phoenissae* 60, he is ὁ πάντ' ἀνατλᾶς Οἰδίπους παθήματα. This suffering is especially connected with his self-blinding (*Phoen.* 61-62, the lines just following the one

³⁷ Lines 1543-45. Cf. *OC* 109-110: ἄθλιον εἶδωλον.

³⁸ See G. Nagy, "Phaethon, Sappho's Phaon, and the White Rock of Leukas," *HSCP* 77 (1973) 174-175.

³⁹ Volterra 374 (last quarter 2nd c.); Villa Giulia 50314 (second half 2nd c.). In Ingrid Krauskopf, *Der thebanische Sagenkreis und andere griechische Sagen in der etruskischen Kunst* (Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften: Schriften zur antiken Mythologie II [Mainz am Rhein, 1974]) these are Pol 37 and Pol 38. Since there are four other urns (Pol 33-36) depicting roughly the same scene and on these urns Oedipus is kneeling, O.-W. v. Vacano, "Ödipus zwischen den Viergespannen," *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts* 68 (1961) 16 (on Pol 37) and 52-53 (on Pol 38), speaks of Oedipus as kneeling, without discussion. But the problem was clearly stated in Johannes Overbeck, *Die Bildwerke zum thebanischen und troischen Heldenkreis* (Braunschweig, 1853), pp. 139-141. I submit that anyone who looks at the excellent photographs in Vacano (Taf. 4,5) will agree that Oedipus is rising out of the ground.

⁴⁰ Heroes are readier to do harm than good: Men. frag. 394. Cf. schol. Ar. *Av.* 1490 and C. Austin, *Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* *58 P. Michig. 3690, lines 3-4.

⁴¹ The epithet points to an epic theme: see Gregory Nagy, *The Best*, chs. 2 and 5 for demonstrations of the relation of epithet and theme in epic. P. Lille 76 ("the Lille 'Stesichorus'") contains traces of the theme: 201, 215, 287. The line numbers are from P. J. Parsons, "The Lille 'Stesichorus'" *ZPE* 26 (1977) 7-36. (A curiosity of the legend in "Stesichorus'" version is that the strife of Eteocles and Polyneices is not the result of Oedipus' curse, of which there is no hint, as Parsons observes [p. 20].) The sufferings of Oedipus are also referred to in *P.Oxy.* 2637 (commentary on lyrical poems), frag. 1b6. See D. Page, *PCPhS* n.s. 16 (1970) 91-92.

quoted), and the self-blinding, or the blinding at the hands of Laius' men (Eur. *Oed. frag.* 541N² = schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 61),⁴² is a punishment first and foremost (cf. *OT* 454–456), though literary criticism has sometimes attempted to view it as self-fulfillment.⁴³ When Oedipus says, just after he blinds himself, "All this was Apollo — he was the one who caused my suffering (πάθεα)" (*OT* 1329–30), a trait that was probably more primitive is being accommodated to the religion of Apollo. This trait of suffering is expressed again in such lines as *Oedipus Coloneus* 266–267: "my deeds were suffered more than done" (τά γ' ἔργα μου / πεπονθότ' ἐστὶ μᾶλλον ἢ δεδρακότα).

Oedipus is a suppliant, then, because he is a wanderer, and he is a wanderer because he is a revenant, who suffers and causes suffering. As a revenant, he appeared once to the Athenians when the Thebans attacked, and he ordered the Athenians to form their ranks, so that they won a victory (schol. Aristeides 46.172 (p. 230) Dind.; cf. *OC* 616–620 and schol. *OC* 57). This apparition might explain the localization of Oedipus' grave at Colonus.⁴⁴ In any case, it may be because he is a revenant that Oedipus' burial place is so uncertain — besides Thebes,⁴⁵ and Colonus, also Keos and Eteonos (Lysimachus *FGrH* 382F2 = schol. *OC* 91) and the Areopagus (Paus. 1.28.6–7; Val. Max. 5.3.3). The two panathenaic amphoras showing the grave of Oedipus probably represent yet another burial place of Oedipus.⁴⁶

⁴² The scene is depicted on three Etruscan urns (2nd c. B.C.), Robert, *Oidipus*, p. 307, Abb. 48; Krauskopf, *Der thebanische Sagenkreis*, p. 97.

⁴³ We also read that Oedipus was blinded by Polybus to avert the prophecy (schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 26). If Oedipus died in battle (*Il.* 23.678), he would not have been blind; but one would not expect blindness of an epic hero. Compare Phoenix. In the *Iliad*, he is not blinded but is cursed by his father (9.437–484). In Euripides' *Phoenix*, he was blinded (see Aristoph. *Ach.* 421). Cf., for the blindness of Phoenix, *AP* 3.3; Ovid *AA* 1.337; Ps.-Apollod. 3.13.8; Tzetzes on Lyk. 421; Men. *Samia* 498–500.

⁴⁴ So Robert, *Oidipus*, vol. 1, pp. 33–39, who also attempts to date the occasion on which Oedipus appeared to the Athenians. He believes that it was the campaign of Cleomenes in 506 B.C. (pp. 36–37). Schmid, *GGL* 1.2.407–408, dates the appearance of Oedipus to 407 B.C. on the basis of Diod. 13.72.3–73.2, where an attack by Agis (from Deceleia) is reported. Xenophon does not mention this attack but he does mention a similar one in 410 B.C. (*Hell.* 1.1.33). The question has thus arisen whether the one in Diod. is a duplicate of the one in Xen. K. J. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*², vol. 2, part 1 (Strassburg, 1914), p. 418, n.2, doubts duplication.

⁴⁵ For references, see n.15 above. To anticipate a comparison to be made in the text of this article, Trophonius, too, was a revenant. For references, see E. Rohde, *Psyche*, pp. 105–106, and for general remarks on the revenant, pp. 533–534, and M. P. Nilsson, *GGR* vol. 1, pp. 182–184.

⁴⁶ A. D. Trendall, *The Red-Figured Vases of Lucania, Campania, and Sicily*

The two main associations of Oedipus in cult may also help to explain the old problem of the name Oedipus. In literature, the name Oedipus is always explained by the mutilation of feet (e.g., Soph. *OT* 1036; Eur. *Phoen.* 27), i.e., in the narrative, the name follows the mutilation. But the mutilation must have been a secondary addition to the narrative, for the purpose of explaining the name. The mutilation contributes nothing to Laius' goal of abandoning the child (cf. schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 26), and the scars have little to do with Oedipus' discovery of his identity (only Soph. *OT* 1032-33). In the mythographical tradition, it is not until the time of the Second Vatican Mythographer that the scars serve the purpose of identification in the narrative.⁴⁷

The question thus arises whether the name Oedipus, which in the narrative must antedate the etiological mutilation, can be explained with reference to his cults. The similarity of Oedipus as a *-πους* compound to several epithets of the Erinyes has already been pointed out. The name may also be related to Oedipus' association with Demeter. Such a relation is suggested by the close resemblance of Oedipus to Trophonius in certain respects. Both Iocaste and Epikaste are given as the mother of Trophonius (Iocaste: schol. Ar. *Nub.* 506; Epikaste: Charax cited *ibid.*), as of Oedipus. Since the legends of Trophonius and Oedipus are so dissimilar, Iocaste / Epikaste must have been a Boeotian mother-figure of cult or legend to whom each of these heroes was independently related.⁴⁸ Demeter was the nurse of Trophonius (schol. Hes. *Scut.* 70; Paus. 9.39.5), as she was the protectress of Oedipus. In the case of Trophonius, Epikaste / Iocaste and Demeter serve the same function, and yet, as in the case of Oedipus, the legend of Trophonius has nothing

(Oxford, 1967), nos. 572 and 592. The grave is identified as Oedipus' by the inscription on the stele. The young man and woman on no. 572 are identified by Trendall as Antigone and Eteocles, though they are not named on the amphora; by Robert, *Oidipus*, vol. 1, p. 2, as Antigone and Polyneices. Robert argued that the amphoras represent the Eteonos cult, but there is no evidence for the connection.

⁴⁷ P. G. Maxwell-Stuart, "Interpretations of the Name Oedipus," *Maia* 27 (1975) 37-43, has made a good case for the *absence* of mutilation in *OT*. Only *διατόρους* (1034) could refer to piercing or boring but, as Aesch. *PV* 76 shows, the word means "painful" or "galling." Maxwell-Stuart's argument would help to explain why the scars do not serve the purpose of identification in the mythographical tradition. (In *OT* they only confirm a conclusion already reached on other grounds.) Eur. *Phoen.* 26-27 would be the earliest reference to the piercing (p. 40). This Euripidean variant did not become part of the tradition. But, Maxwell-Stuart goes on, "it does seem reasonable to suggest that the name Oedipus took its rise from some observed, observable blemish, a swelling either of the foot or leg" (p. 41).

⁴⁸ Brelich, *Gli eroi*, p. 53.

to do with Demeter. But the name Trophonius is relatively transparent: it is from the root *τρεφ-*.

The resemblance of Oedipus to Trophonius suggests, then, that the name Oedipus might have something to do with growth, as would befit his cultic proximity to Demeter (who in *OC* 1600 has the epithet *εὐχλοος*). The stem of the word for foot, which was rich in secondary or metaphorical meanings, occurs in the name of plants, e.g., *μελαμπόδιον* and *πολυπόδιον* (Theophrastus *HP* 9.10.4, 13.6). In the case of the first of these plants, there was a story that Melampus had discovered it, so that the hero gave his name to the plant (Theophrastus *ibid.*). Where did the hero get his name? He was exposed by his mother Rhodope, with all his body covered except his feet, which were burned by the sun (schol. Theocr. 3.43; schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.121). Thus he became "Black Foot." The etymology of this name is as far-fetched as in the case of Oedipus. The name Melampus must have some other explanation. The hero's discovery of the plant *melampodion* provides the clue. Melampus is the personification of the plant that he is later said to have discovered, whereas the plant got its name from the physical characteristic indicated by the epithet *μελανόρριζον* (Ps.-Diosc. 4.162). Melampus thus takes his place beside other Boeotian heroes whose names show that they were originally plants, Narcissus and Kaanthos (if from *Akanthos*), though the legends of course tell that the plant is named after the hero.⁴⁹

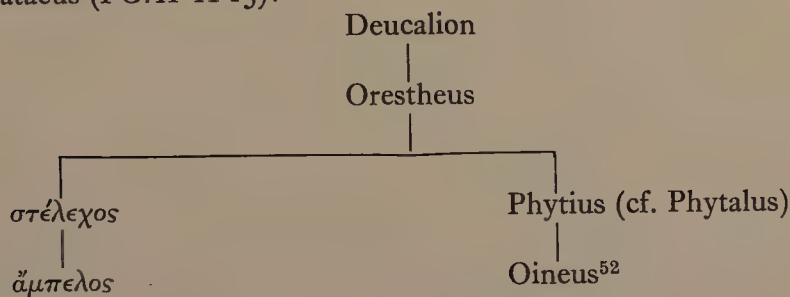
The name Oedipus, which, like the name Melampus, is explained by an exposure story, is appropriate to a figure associated in cult with Demeter. The name, suggesting a plant, is comparable with the names and the legends of the heroes Phytalus and Aras. The former offered Demeter hospitality, and in return she gave him the fig tree (Paus. 1.37.2). The latter was an autochthon at Phliasia and had his tomb nearby at Keleai, where the Eleusinian Dysaules was also buried (Paus. 2.12.4). At this same place, the mysteries were celebrated in honor of Demeter. They were supposed to have been brought there by Dysaules (Paus. 2.14.1-4). He, too, was an autochthon and had a place in the precinct of Demeter at Eleusis.⁵⁰ The names and the legends of Phy-

⁴⁹ An incest story attaches to Kaanthos: "They say that the first murder of brothers was in Thebes, when Ismenos and Klaaitos [certainly a corruption of Kaanthos] the sons of Ocean fought over their sister Melia": B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Part 10 (London, 1914), no. 1241, col. 4.5-10. In Paus. 9.10.5, Kaanthos is the son of Ocean, Ismenos the son of Apollo and Melia.

⁵⁰ For Dysaules as an autochthon see, in addition to this place, Harpocration s.v. For discussion, see F. Graf, *Eleusis und die orphische Dichtung Athens in vorhellenistischer Zeit* (Berlin and New York, 1974), pp. 158 ff.

talus and Aras show that they are personifications of the generative power of Demeter.

But the true autochthon is the plant, as the true mother is the earth. "Earth does not imitate woman in conception and begetting but vice versa" (Pl. *Menex.* 238a). Therefore human reproduction is homologized with the reproduction of plants, and this homology is even embedded in the Greek language. The word **korwos* yielded *κοῦρος*, "male youth," in Ionic and *κόρος*, "shoot," in Attic.⁵¹ The homology is written out, as it were, in the lines of descent from Deucalion as given by Hecataeus (*FGrH* 1F15):



Orestheus has two kinds of descendants, the tree-trunk which produces the vine, and Phytius, Begetter, who begets Vine. The homology of ἄμπελος and Oineus is clear. It is not, furthermore, simply a matter of poetic metaphor and mythical genealogy. The phrase *παίδων ἐπ' ἀρότῳ γνησίῳ* was part of the legal marriage contract in Athens.⁵³

The homology of man and plant also underlies the variance in legends and myths between autochthony and incest. The autochthon is in principle the begotten, but, thanks to the homology, he may also be the begetter, since the seeds of the plant fertilize the earth, its mother. The story of the autochthon may thus become a story of incest. It is not surprising, therefore, that the variance between autochthony and incest is found within one mythical genealogy, that of Klymenos, another

⁵¹ G. Nagy, *The Best*, ch. 10, sect. 11, n.5; cf. R. Merkelbach, "ΚΟΡΟΣ," *ZPE* 8 (1971) 80. Cf. the metaphorical use of such words as *σταχύς* and *ἔρνος* and the creation of such words for human offspring as *θάλος*, *ρίζωμα*, and *φίτευμα*.

⁵² Hecataeus explains: *κληθεῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀμπελῶν*. Cf. *φελλεύς*, "stony ground"; *πρινεύς*, "ilex-grove" (or a place-name) (in LSJ⁹ Suppl.). Thus I take Oineus as Vine (or Vineyard), not Vintner or Winemaker.

⁵³ This phrase, with slight variations, occurs several times in Menander. For references, see A. W. Gomme and F. H. Sandbach, *Menander: A Commentary* (Oxford, 1973), on *Pk.* 1010. Cf. Aesch. *Sept.* 752-756 (of Oedipus); Soph. *Antig.* 569; *Trachin.* 31-33; Eur. *Med.* 1281; *Phoen.* 18; *Hyps.* 3 (1), col. iii Hunt; Theognis 581-582; Hes. *OD* 736; Alciph. 1.6.15; Luc. *Tim.* 17; *Lexiphan.* 19; Nonnos *Dionys.* 12.45-47; Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.* 514, 601.

husband of Epikaste (Hyg. *Fab.* 206). He is given five different fathers, of whom two are Oineus and Schoineus, and a third is Phoroneus, the son of Melia (schol. Eur. *Or.* 933) and the river Inachus (Apollod. 2.1.1; Paus. 2.15.5). As the son of either Oineus or Schoineus and probably as the son of Phoroneus, Klymenos is the son of a plant, and thus it is not unexpected that there was a plant klymenos, named after the hero, according to Pliny, who says that it cures asthma (*NH* 26.41 [25]) but causes sterility in men (25.70 [33]). By Epikaste, Klymenos had a daughter, Harpalyke, with whom he committed incest (Hyg. *Fab.* 206; Parthen. *Erot.* 13). In other words, the husband of Epikaste is a quasi-autochthon, he bears the same name as a plant, and he is a committer of incest. (He is also, with his sister, Chthonia, the founder of a cult of Demeter (Paus. 2.35.4; Ael. *HA* 11.4).)

Thus Oedipus, whose name suggests a plant, becomes the subject of a legend concerning, amongst other things, incest. In the figure of Aras, the same double role appears. He is an autochthon, but he is also "Plowman" — he sows the earth from which he sprang.⁵⁴ Oedipus, too, is a plowman of the earth from which he sprang.⁵⁵ Such are the agricultural terms in which he speaks of his sexual relations with his mother (*OT* 260, 460; cf. 1211 and 1246, 1256–57, 1405, 1485, 1497; consider also *OC* 533, 972, 1108, and 585 with Jebb's note).⁵⁶

⁵⁴ Someone said that the etymologies of Greek proper names are either transparent or unknown. The etymology of Aras belongs to the second category, but a derivation from the same stem as that of ἀρώ cannot be ruled out. This verb had a theme in -a. (Tabl. Heracl. 1.183, etc.; see Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque s.v.*). Thus **Aras*, -αντος could be a formation like *πουλυδάμας* and *Λαοδάμας* from *δαμάζω*, *δαμάω*, on the assumption that -ās, -αντος is secondary to -ās, -αο (see Schwyzler, *GG* 1.526). But one has to leave open the possibility of a connection of the name Aras with the root of ἀρά. Hesych. gives the gloss: ἀράντισιν-ἐρινύσι, which he says is Macedonian. If the etymology should be sought in this direction, Aras would be an autochthon, etc., associated with the Erinyes; but the comparison with Oedipus would still be secure.

On the symbolic identity of plow and phallus, see Albrecht Dieterich, *Mutter Erde: Ein Versuch über Volksreligion*³ (Berlin, 1925), and on plowing symbolism, M. Eliade, *Patterns in Comparative Religion*, trans. R. Sheed (Meridian Book, N.Y., 1963), pp. 259–260, 354–356.

⁵⁵ The first element of the name Oedipus can express either the burgeoning of the plant (e.g. Ar. *Pax* 1163) or the swelling of the phallus. A Linear B tablet from Pylos has the proper name *o-du-pa₃-ro* (**Οιδύφαλλος*): Michael Ventris and John Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*² (Cambridge, 1973) 40 = An 22 [261] (p. 173). Cf. p. 421, answering L. R. Palmer, *The Interpretation of Mycenaean Greek Texts* (Oxford, 1963), pp. 228–229.

⁵⁶ When Oedipus describes his daughters' future as barren (χέρσους *OT* 1502), he uses an adjective that is applied elsewhere, as Kamberbeek observes, only to the earth.

A final illustration of the homology of incest and autochthony can be taken from another episode of Theban legend. The founder of Thebes, Cadmus, killed a serpent or dragon that was preying on his newly founded city, and then sowed the teeth of the monster in the ground. From the teeth sprang fully grown, armed warriors, who began to kill each other (Apollod. 3.4.1). The five survivors became the ancestors of the five clans of Thebes. The placing of a tooth in the ground is equated in Herodotus 6.107 with incest:

Meanwhile Hippias, son of Pisistratus, had led the barbarians to Marathon, having the preceding night seen the following vision in his sleep. Hippias fancied that he lay with his own mother; he inferred, therefore, from the dream, that, having returned to Athens and recovered the sovereignty, he should die an old man in his own country. He drew this inference from the vision . . . he moored the ships as they came from Marathon, and drew up the barbarians as they embarked on the land; and as he was busied in doing this, it happened that he sneezed and coughed more violently than he was accustomed; and as he was far advanced in years, several of his teeth were loose, so that through the violence of his cough he threw out one of these teeth; and as it fell on the sand, he used every endeavor to find it, but when the tooth could nowhere be found, he drew a deep sigh, and said to the by-standers, "This country is not ours, nor shall we be able to subdue it; whatever share belongeth to me, my tooth possesses." Hippias accordingly inferred that his vision had thus been fulfilled.⁵⁷

Hippias thought that the dream of incest with his mother would be fulfilled by his becoming tyrant of his own country once again; but the dream of incest was in fact fulfilled by his tooth being buried in the sand at Marathon. His interpretation can only mean that he equates the tooth with semen or his phallus and the earth with his mother.

To return to Cadmus and the dragon's teeth, the act of sowing by a founder, which produces the ancestors of the city of Thebes, must be the monosexual equivalent of what would be an incest legend if it were told in bisexual terms. Furthermore, Cadmus has a son Polydorus, who is the father of Labdacus, the father of Laius, the father of Oedipus, the father of Eteocles and Polyneices, who slay each other, just as most of the offspring of the dragon's teeth did. Thus the legend of Oedipus, with respect to incest and the strife of the sons, seems to be a variant of the legend concerning Cadmus and autochthony. The great difference between the two legends is, of course, that the incest of Oedipus has nothing to do with origins. It is connected, rather, with the kingship of

⁵⁷ Henry Cary, *Herodotus* (New York, 1855), p. 394.

Oedipus. The incestuous marriage, just after the killing of the Sphinx, inaugurates the kingship, and the discovery of this crime, and of the parricide, brings the kingship to an end (though not in the epic version of the legend: Hom. *Od.* 11.271-280).

In the legend, the homology of incest and autochthony was forgotten,⁵⁸ and indeed the legend, in the form or forms in which we have it, caused the figure here reconstructed to change in various ways. For example, he would come, rather unexpectedly, to epitomize cleverness or intelligence. But the cardinal source of change, it can be hypothesized, was the transformation of this figure into a Theban king who could be added to the royal dynasty.⁵⁹ The legend became, in short, a legend of kingship.⁶⁰ At the same time, however, Oedipus kept his identity or identities in cult and belief and undoubtedly in local traditions unknown to us, and this Oedipus was never in antiquity really submerged in the transformation just suggested. Even the Oedipus tragedies of Sophocles, which have provided unending inspiration to a humanistic and esthetic understanding of the Oedipus legend, preserve indications enough of a pre-royal Oedipus who belongs ultimately to ancient Greek religion.⁶¹

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⁵⁸ C. Lévi-Strauss, "The Structural Study of Myth," *Journal of American Folklore* 68 (1955) 428-444 = *Structural Anthropology* (New York: Anchor Books, 1967), pp. 202-228, argued that the Oedipus myth transposes a fundamental preoccupation of "Greek culture" with autochthony into somehow mitigating terms of "over-rated kinship," including incest. His intuition concerning autochthony was commendable, and should not have been dismissed by classicists, but his notion that the legend is a "logical tool" for dealing with the fundamental preoccupation is mistaken. The relationship of the various, sometimes heterogeneous, elements in the legend is not simply logical. On the contrary, the paradigmatic or synchronic elements of the legend are not only logically prior but also historically prior to the syntagmatic and diachronic aspect, i.e., the narrative, and can even cause the narrative to make adjustments. The name Oedipus is an example. Thus the elements to some extent retain their heterogeneity and do not function as logical integers.

⁵⁹ The Theban dynasty is syncretistic. See Francis Vian, *Les origines de Thèbes* (Paris, 1963), p. 177. The traces of matriliney pointed out by Vian (pp. 189-190) are not, I believe, the reflection of Theban history but of mythology — the association of Oedipus with Demeter.

⁶⁰ As I argued in *The Comparative Civilizations Review* No. 3 = *The Comparative Civilizations Bulletin* 8 (1979) 1-12.

⁶¹ I am grateful to the anonymous referee, Dr. Susan Edmunds, Mr. Richard Martin, and Professor Gregory Nagy for helpful comments on this paper.

THE GREEK ANTHROPOCENTRIC VIEW OF MAN

ROBERT RENEHAN

What is man without the beasts? If all the beasts were gone, men would die from a great loneliness of the spirit. For whatever happens to the beasts soon happens to man.

—Chief Seattle, 1854

περὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ζώων ἐάσω, περὶ δὲ ἀνθρώπου δηλώσω.

—“Hippocrates”

TO begin at the end. Well into the Byzantine period, probably in the tenth century, a certain Leo compiled a little handbook on the nature of man in which he poses the question “What is man?” Man is, he goes on to reply, a “rational mortal animal, capable of thought and knowledge,” ζῶον λογικὸν θνητόν, νοῦ καὶ ἐπιστήμης δεκτικόν. Leo has borrowed this definition verbatim from the ninth-century(?) treatise of Meletius the Monk *On the Constitution of Man*. Meletius in his turn took the definition directly from the bishop Nemesius (early fifth century?), who, in his work *On the Nature of Man*, prefaces this formulation with the general statement τὸν ἀνθρωπον ὀρίζονται, “people define man.” Gregory of Nyssa similarly attests the tralatitious character of the words: τὸ λογικὸν τοῦτο ζῶον ὁ ἀνθρωπος νοῦ τε καὶ ἐπιστήμης δεκτικὸν εἶναι καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἔξω τοῦ λόγου τοῦ καθ’ ἡμᾶς μεμαρτύρηται.¹ The definition is by no means exclusively Byzantine or Christian, scholastic though it sounds. It is to be found in the pseudo-Galenic *Definitiones Medicae*,² and Sextus Empiricus quotes it more than once.³ The earliest traces of it seem to be in the pseudo-Platonic *Οροι* (415A: ἀνθρωπος ζῶον . . .

I should like to thank Professor Albert Henrichs of Harvard University for providing me with several helpful references.

¹ Leo Medicus: p. 17.6 Renehan; Meletius Monachus: p. 6.23–24 Cramer; Nemesius: p. 55 Matthaei; Gregory of Nyssa: *De Anima et Resurrectione*, PG 46.52 C. The patristic tradition furnishes further examples of this definition, e.g. [Basilus Caesariensis] *Contra Eunomium*, PG 29.688 B; [Athanasius] *Liber de definitionibus* PG 28.534 C. In Latin compare Tertullian *Adv. Marc.* II.4.5 *animal rationale intellectus et scientiae capax* (= PL 2.289A).

² 19.355 K.

³ *Outlines of Pyrrhonism* 2.26, 2.211; *Against the Logicians* 1.269.

ἐπιστήμης τῆς κατὰ λόγους δεκτικόν ἔστιν) and in the *Topics* of Aristotle, where he states with approval that one who characterizes man as a ζῶον ἐπιστήμης δεκτικόν has assigned an essential property.⁴ His language suggests that the words were already a familiar formula; the spurious Platonic definition points in the same direction. Two fundamental pieces of information emerge from all this. First, this definition of man, which was to become orthodox in Greek thought, was a creation of formal Greek philosophy; its earlier distribution and the language itself, which is technical, establish this. Second, the specific difference which sets apart man from all other mortal animals in this definition is his λόγος, his capacity for intellectual activity.⁵

This attitude, that man is a rational animal, has been for so long an accepted commonplace in Western culture that its specifically Greek origin is seldom a matter of conscious reflection. In reality, that man differs from animals because of his intelligence, so far from being a natural way of looking at things, is an exceptional mode of thought in the history of man (*infra*). Consider the very phrase "rational animal," *animal rationale*; it is nothing but a literal translation of ζῶον λογικόν. This phrase, a stock definition which is found far more frequently than the fuller one illustrated above, succinctly segregates man from all other animals in a telling way. Man has the use of λόγος while the rest are ἄλογα ζῶα. The pronounced dichotomy, whereby man is rigidly opposed to other animals, has scarcely any rival as a characteristically Greek concept. Its significance can be appreciated if one reflects that only in the present century, with its increased interest in the scientific study of animal intelligence and communication, has a different attitude toward animals really begun to impose itself upon the consciousness of educated men.

It would serve no practical purpose to attempt a systematic collection of the numerous passages where ζῶον λογικόν occurs, but some historical comments may not be out of place. The tendency of early Greek thought

⁴ 132^a19 ff; cf. 133^a20 ff, 134^a14 ff.

⁵ The point of θνητόν in the definition is to distinguish man from ἀθάνατα ζῶα; the particular reference(s) varied with philosophical school and period. For instance, Diogenes Laertius 7.147 [= *SVF* 2.305.15-17] gives a Stoic definition of θεός which begins ζῶον ἀθάνατον λογικόν τέλειον κτλ. In the *Placita* of Aetius [= Diels, *Dox. Gr.* p. 432] the κόσμος is described as a ζῶον λογικόν ἀθάνατον; the ultimate source of this is the *Timaeus*. Christians thought also of angels; in Nemesius (p. 55 Matthaei) man is defined as a ζῶον λογικόν θνητόν, νοῦ καὶ ἐπιστήμης δεκτικόν . . . λογικόν δέ, ἵνα χωρισθῇ τῶν ἀλόγων καὶ θνητόν, ἵνα χωρισθῇ τῶν ἀθανάτων λογικῶν. Meletius (p. 6.23 ff Cramer) copies this and adds after τῶν ἀθανάτων λογικῶν — ἥγουν ἀγγέλων. See also Theodoretus, *Comm. in Ezech.* 1.5 (PG 81.824 B) ζῶον καλεῖται λογικόν, καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος καὶ ὁ ἄγγελος.

to regard man's essence, unlike that of other animals, as characterized by intellect, culminated in Plato, whose writings were to be of central importance in the proliferation of this outlook. One or two representative, if random, passages must suffice to illustrate the man ~ other animals dichotomy in Plato. In the *Politicus* the Stranger remarks εἶπες μάλα προθύμως δὴ εἶναι ζώων γένη, τὸ μὲν ἀνθρώπινον, ἕτερον δὲ τῶν ἄλλων συμπάντων θηρίων ἔν (263C) and again, a little later in the dialogue, ἄνθρωποι, ζῶον ὃν ἕτερον θειότερον, ἀλλὰ γένη φαυλότερα αὐτῶν νομεύουσι (271E). In the myth in the *Protagoras* (321B) τὸ ἀνθρώπων γένος is contrasted with τὰ ἄλογα. Of particular interest is Plato's attitude toward young children. In the *Republic* (441A–B), that part of the soul called τὸ λογιστικόν is found to be absent from animals (θηρία) — and from children (παιδιά). The *Timaeus* contains a passage (44A–C) which teaches that the soul of an infant is ἄνοος at birth, the consequence of disordered revolutions (περίοδοι, περιφοραί) in the soul. Only gradually does one become ἔμφρων, as these revolutions become more orderly, especially with the help of proper education (τις ὀρθὴ τροφὴ παιδεύσεως). In the *Laws* (808D) Plato actually writes that the child is the "hardest to manage of all beasts" (πάντων θηρίων . . . δυσμεταχειριστότατον). A deficiency in λογισμός suffices to place young humans in the category of animals. Naturally, the literalness of this must not be pressed; the language remains indicative. This Platonic viewpoint reappears in Aristotle, *HA* 588^a ff: διαφέρει δ' οὐδὲν ὡς εἰπεῖν ἡ ψυχὴ [sc. τῶν παίδων] τῆς τῶν θηρίων ψυχῆς κατὰ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον. The actual word λογικός never occurs in Plato's works, nor is it attested for any earlier writer.⁶ Aristotle has it, but not the phrase ζῶον λογικόν.⁷ Who first coined this expression is no longer discoverable; it seems to have been especially popular with the Stoics.⁸ The important point is that ζῶον λογικόν, whatever its origins, was the private property of no particular philosophical school; rather, it became common coin in the

⁶ But see n.7.

⁷ There is one possible exception; Iamblichus *VP* 31 [= D.-K. *VS*⁹ I.99.11–12 = Arist. *Fr.* 192 Rose³] states that Aristotle mentioned a Pythagorean distinction: τοῦ λογικοῦ ζῶου τὸ μὲν ἐστὶ θεός, τὸ δὲ ἄνθρωπος, τὸ δὲ οἶον Πυθαγόρας. Whether τὸ λογικὸν ζῶον occurred in Aristotle's Pythagorean source or Iamblichus has a "modernized" version is not certain. (Much more probably the latter. Walter Burkert, *Lore and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1972), p. 144, is confident: "a phrase like λογικὸν ζῶον [sc. in this very passage] betrays later terminology.") The main point is that Aristotle himself does not use ζῶον λογικόν as part of his own philosophical vocabulary.

⁸ According to Aetius, *Placita* 1.3 [= Diels *Dox. Gr.* 282.26–28] the Pythagoreans τοῦτον τὸν ὅρον ἀποδιδόντες λέγουσι ζῶον λογικόν [sc. ἄνθρωπον] κτλ. This does not mean that they were the first to do so; see also n.7.

speech of educated Greeks in general. A few examples will give some idea of its distribution. Chrysippus ap. Plut. *Mor.* 450D = *SVF* 3.95.10–12 τοῦ λογικοῦ ζώου φύσιν ἔχοντος προσχρῆσθαι εἰς ἕκαστα τῷ λόγῳ καὶ ὑπὸ τούτου κυβερνᾶσθαι κτλ. *Theol. Arithm.* p. 25.17 ff de Falco = Philolaos *Fr.* 13 D.-K. καὶ τέσσαρες ἀρχαὶ τοῦ ζώου τοῦ λογικοῦ, ὥσπερ καὶ Φιλόλαος ἐν τῷ Περὶ φύσεως λέγει κτλ. Epictetus 2.9.2 τί γάρ ἐστιν ἄνθρωπος; ζῶον, φησί,⁹ λογικὸν θνητόν; compare 3.1.25 ἄνθρωπος εἶ · τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ θνητόν ζῶον χρηστικὸν φαντασίαις λογικῶς. Women were explicitly included in this category, Galen 5.742K: γυναῖκες . . . καὶ αὐταὶ ὑπάρχουσιν λογικὰ ζῶα, τουτέστιν ἐπιστήμης δεκτικά. (Note here the explication of the shorter definition by means of language taken from the fuller version). For some examples from the church fathers see G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* s.v. λογικός A.I. It is noteworthy that this entry, which fills almost two large columns and illustrates a variety of meanings and usages of λογικός begins with just this meaning (“rational, endowed with reason”) and phrase — λογικὸν ζῶον. By contrast, in LSJ s.v. λογικός this sense of the word is found in fourth place. It can be taken for granted that by the early Christian period ζῶον λογικόν had long been as familiar an expression in Greek as “rational animal” is in English.

Before proceeding it is necessary to say something about the meaning of ζῶον. For τὰ ζῶα in general, as well as man, τὸ λογικὸν ζῶον, in particular, were the object of philosophical theorizing which resulted in various formal distinctions and definitions. A typical specimen is provided by the pseudo-Galenic *Definitiones Medicae*, 19.355K.: ζῶόν ἐστιν οὐσία ἔμφυχος, αἰσθητική, καθ' ὁρμὴν καὶ προαίρεσιν κινουμένη.¹⁰ A long tradition of speculation lies behind that arid formulation; the same holds true of Proclus' dogmatic pronouncement in his Neoplatonic catechism, the *Institutio Theologica*, proposition 70 (p. 66. 18–20 Dodds): δεῖ γὰρ . . . γενέσθαι πρῶτον ὄν, εἴτα ζῶον, εἴτα ἄνθρωπον. καὶ ἄνθρωπος οὐκέτι ἐστὶν ἀπολιπούσης τῆς λογικῆς δυνάμεως, ζῶον δὲ ἐστὶν ἐμπνέον καὶ αἰσθανόμενον. These passages set forth what had come to be the orthodox Greek view of animals. As man is distinguished by his possession of reason, so animals are distinguished by their possession of the faculty of sensation, αἴσθησις. Occasionally the generic term ζῶον could include plants, τὰ φυτά, as well. Plato in the *Timaeus*, 77B, writes πᾶν γὰρ οὖν ὅτι περ ἂν μετὰ σχη τοῦ ζῆν, ζῶον μὲν ἂν ἐν δίκη λέγοιτο ὁρθότατα,

⁹ φησί here is equivalent to φασί, “people say,” one more indication of how familiar the expression was. For this use of φησί see *Rh. Mus.* 113.1970.84.

¹⁰ The definition is repeated in Nemesius (p. 55 Matthaei), Meletius (p. 6.24–25 Cramer), Leo (p. 17.7 Renehan), and no doubt elsewhere.

and he has τὰ φυτά explicitly in mind there.¹¹ (The passage is not typical of Plato's usage.) The famous fragment (117 D.-K.) in which Empedocles proclaims that he has been a boy and a girl and a bush (θάμνος) and a bird and a fish may imply the same belief. But such an attitude was exceptional; normally τὰ φυτά are excluded from the category of ζῶα.¹² Compare Plato, *Phaedo* 70D μὴ μόνον κατ' ἀνθρώπων . . . ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ ζώων πάντων καὶ φυτῶν, καὶ συλλήβδην ὅσα περ ἔχει γένεσιν. Aristotle is quite precise about this. *PA* 653^b23 ff: τὸ γὰρ ζῶον ὀρίζομεθα τῷ ἔχειν αἴσθησιν. *PA* 666^a34 τὸ μὲν γὰρ ζῶον αἰσθήσει ὥρισταί. By this criterion τὰ φυτά are not ζῶα, *De Anima* 415^a2: τοῦ δ' αἰσθητικοῦ χωρίζεται τὸ θρεπτικὸν ἐν τοῖς φυτοῖς. Just as Greeks sharply discriminated between men and animals, so they had a similar inclination to separate animals and plants more rigidly than is usual among many early peoples (or present-day "primitives").¹³ The very word ζῶον reveals how pronounced this tendency was. Etymologically, the term means simply "living thing" and should include plant as well as animal life. That Plato in the *Timaeus*, 77B, was quite conscious of this is shown by λέγοιτο ὀρθότατα, for that is technical language with specific reference to the ὀρθότης ὀνόματος, the true sense of the word.¹⁴ Greek modes of thought imposed a narrower meaning upon ζῶον than it otherwise would have had. This is neatly illustrated by a sentence in Aristotle, *GA* 731^b4-5: διαφέρει δ' αἰσθήσει τὰ ζῶα τῶν ζώντων μόνον. (See also *PA* 681^a13 ff; *De Anima* 413^b4.) According to the normal rules of Greek τὰ ζῶα and τὰ ζῶντα should have been synonymous; in practice ζῶον, often, is interchangeable rather with θηρίον. Latin *animal* and English "animal" acquire their usual meanings, again against the etymology, directly from Greek ζῶον. Our phrase "animal, vegetable,

¹¹ *Tim.* 90A . . . ἡμᾶς . . . ὥς ὄντας φυτὸν οὐκ ἔγγειον ἀλλὰ οὐράνιον is a different matter.

¹² Cf. A. E. Taylor on Pl. *Tim.* 77A 5. A chapter in the doxographic *Placita* of Aetius (Diels, *Dox. Gr.* p. 438) is entitled Πῶς ὑβήθη τὰ φυτὰ καὶ εἰ ζῶα. It begins Πλάτων Θαλῆς καὶ τὰ φυτὰ ἐμψυχα ζῶα. The only other philosopher adduced for such a view is Empedocles.

¹³ This, as a statement of the usual Greek outlook, is true enough, but like all generalities, it runs a risk of oversimplification. The Greeks were on occasion capable of more flexibility in this regard. See especially Aristotle's remarks in *HA* 588^a4 ff, οὕτω δ' ἐκ τῶν ἀψύχων εἰς τὰ ζῶα μεταβαίνει κατὰ μικρὸν ἢ φύσις . . . ἢ δὲ μετάβασις ἐξ αὐτῶν [sc. τῶν φυτῶν] εἰς τὰ ζῶα συνεχῆς ἐστίν. Aristotle has in mind such animals as the πῖνη, ἀκαλήφη, and σπόγγος. Cf. Nemesius p. 42 Matthaei: τὰ τοιαῦτα πάντα ζωόφυτα καλεῖν ἔθος ἔχουσιν οἱ παλαιοὶ τῶν σοφῶν. (The term ζωόφυτον is interesting, but Nemesius appears to be in error when he attributes it to "οἱ παλαιοί." LSJ cite it only as a variant in one passage of Sextus Empiricus. Aristotle already had the concept, but not the word.)

¹⁴ For this use of adverbial ὀρθῶς see Burnet on Pl. *Phd.* 67B 4.

mineral" is a good example of the persistence of this Greek influence.¹⁵

To return to the polarity which is a principal concern of the present paper, that between man, the rational animal, and the irrational animals, τὸ λογικὸν ζῷον and τὰ ἄλογα ζῷα. As was remarked above, this way of looking at things, common to the Greeks and to many even now,¹⁶ is not nearly so natural as it may seem to us. Frazer has observed "the sharp line of demarcation which we draw between mankind and the lower animals does not exist for the savage. To him many of the other animals appear as his equals or even his superiors, not merely in brute force but in intelligence."¹⁷ These days one may smile at the facile use of the condescending term "savage," but nevertheless Frazer's basic point is well taken. In another passage he pertinently remarks of the "savage" that he "is more liberal and perhaps more logical than the civilized man . . . he commonly believes that animals are endowed with feelings and intelligence like those of men."¹⁸ In fact, before the development of some technology in the ancient world, it was by no means apparent that man had the advantage over animals. In obtaining food and shelter, in defending themselves against natural enemies, in, that is, what the Greeks called τὰ ἀναγκαῖα, animals were often clearly superior. Early human dwellings were not to be compared in intricacy or technical skill with, say, a spider's web, a beehive, or the nests of certain birds. No human hunter could provide food with the expertise and dependability of the eagle or the fox. What reason had man to deny intelligence to animals, to feel superior to them? But there came a day when the Greeks, whatever the causes, thought otherwise. The difference appears very subtly in a sentence which Seneca wrote under the influence of Greek philosophy: *Tacitis quoque et brutis, quamquam in cetera torpeant, ad vivendum sollertia est.*¹⁹ That animals possessed *sollertia* had never been doubted; that they were dumb beasts with no language of their own (*tacitis . . . et brutis*) is a Greek innovation. Fifth-century pride in technological progress, a pride which found its most famous expression in the great πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ chorus of Sophocles, was doubtless one factor, but it cannot be the whole explanation of this.

¹⁵ Here too a change from the Greek attitude is discernible in our times. In particular, the problem of "plant sensitivity" is attracting considerable interest. Whether music and soft speech are conducive to plant growth I must leave to others to decide.

¹⁶ At least in Western societies; I do not feel competent to comment on the Orient.

¹⁷ Sir James George Frazer, *The Golden Bough*³ (1935), pt. V, vol. 2, p. 310.

¹⁸ N.17 above, p. 204.

¹⁹ *Ep.* 121.24.

As we shall see, the elevation of reason as man's special prerogative is much older in Greece.

This is not to say that the problem of animal intelligence was simply ignored. Quite the contrary. Apparently purposive behavior on the part of animals had to be explained somehow, and the Greeks faced up to the problem resolutely. One approach was provided by the fertile new concept of φύσις which, among its other meanings, came to be used in the sense of animal *instinct*, as in Democritus *Fr.* 278 D.-K. δῆλον δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ζώοισι· πάντα γὰρ ἔκγονα κτᾶται κατὰ φύσιν ἐπωφελείης γε οὐδεμιᾶς εἵνεκα. Then, as now, seemingly intelligent animal activity was often explained away as instinctive, as, quite simply, "natural"; animals behaved as they did φύσει. This attitude appears crystallized in the *Corpus Hermeticum* 12.1 οὗτος δὲ ὁ νοῦς ἐν μὲν ἀνθρώποις θεϊὸς ἐστὶ . . . ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀλόγοις ζώοις ἢ φύσις ἐστίν. Not all thinkers were prepared to leave it at that. Aristotle recognized intelligence (φρόνησις, not νοῦς) in certain animals, such as the bee. This was, however, qualitatively different from human reason; man still remained an entity set apart. As Ross has observed, "φρόνησις as it exists in animals involves no λόγος. But its existence in animals, in this wider sense, is pointed out even in the *Ethics* (1141^a26; cf. *De Gen. An.* 753^a11)." And again "in man a new activity sometimes occurs, which never occurs in the lower animals. A man may grasp the universal."²⁰ Even the possibility that animals actually possessed λόγος was maintained by some, especially by the Skeptics and certain Academics. Plutarch's treatises *De sollertia animalium* and *Bruta animalia ratione uti* are popular specimens of this viewpoint. Those who adopted such a stance were, however, consciously departing anew from the formal Greek view that man alone of θνητὰ ζῶα was a λογικὸν ζῶον; that is, they do not represent a continuous tradition, the vestigial remains of an earlier outlook. (Doubtless, in Greece as elsewhere, older ways of thought long survived among the uneducated, especially in country districts. This does not affect the significance of what was new and original.) The doxographical handbooks summarized the opinions of philosophers on this question; there still survives in one such handbook a chapter heading Πόσα γένη ζώων καὶ εἰ πάντα αἰσθητὰ καὶ λογικά.²¹ The church father Epiphanius relates that the Peripatetic Strato of Lampsacus πᾶν ζῶον ἔλεγε νοῦ δεκτικὸν εἶναι.²² The very language (νοῦ δεκτικόν) proves

²⁰ W. D. Ross on *Ar. Met.* 980^b21 and ^b26, respectively.

²¹ Aetius, *Placita* 5.20 = Diels, *Dox. Gr.*, p. 432.

²² *Epitome Haereseum* 3.33 = Diels, *Dox. Gr.*, p. 592. Cf. *Plut. Mor.* 961A = *Strato, Fr.* 112 Wehrli.

that this is a deliberate rejection of the "orthodox" definition of man. It is explicitly so in Sextus Empiricus: ἄλλοι ἔφασκον ἄνθρωπον εἶναι ζῶον λογικὸν θνητόν, νοῦ καὶ ἐπιστήμης δεκτικόν. ἐπεὶ οὖν δείκνυνται ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῆς ἐποχῆς τρόπῳ ὅτι οὐδέν ἐστι ζῶον ἄλογον, ἀλλὰ καὶ νοῦ καὶ ἐπιστήμης δεκτικά ἐστι πάντα κτλ.²³ Such pronouncements tend to occur in polemical contexts; they are, in short, exceptions that prove the general rule. To most educated Greeks man had become *the* λογικὸν ζῶον.

The standard definitions thus encapsulate an attitude toward man and animal which may fairly be described as severely anthropocentric. (That this attitude was deeply engrained in the Greek mentality has of course long been a truism, but one more often glibly parroted than rigorously documented.) A few such technical definitions and formulas are hardly, in themselves, adequate documentation for the *Anschauung* of an entire people.²⁴ Far more impressive evidence is furnished by a widespread group of commonplaces which do not seem to have been the subject of special study. These constitute a distinct *topos*, which one might describe as the "μόνον τῶν ζώων ἄνθρωπος" *topos*. Again and again Greek writers point out that man is unique in some respect. These special characteristics are of the most varied sort, ranging from peculiarities of hair and smells to a participation in the Divine. A very common way of signaling such distinct properties of man is to say "man alone of animals is / has . . ." or, alternately, to remark "it is a

²³ *Outlines of Pyrrhonism* 2.26. In another passage Sextus has an amusing *encomium canis* in which he attempts to demonstrate against the Stoics that, on their own premises, this poor creature possesses all the intellectual qualities of humans (1.62 ff). Empedocles was ridiculed by Sextus for an even more extreme view: Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ἐτι παραδοξότερον πάντα ἡξίου λογικὰ τυγχάνειν καὶ οὐ ζῶα μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ φυτὰ ῥητῶς γράφων "πάντα γὰρ ἴσθι φρόνησιν ἔχειν καὶ νόματος αἴσαν." [= *Fr.* 110.10 D.-K.]. (*Against the Logicians* 2.286.) For Anaxagoras' views on νοῦς ἐν ᾗ πασι τοῖς ζώοις see Aristotle, *De Anima* 404^b1 ff, *Met.* 984^b15 ff; for Archelaus see Diels-Kranz *VS* II.46.23-24 (χρησθαι γὰρ ἕκαστον καὶ τῶν ζώων τῷ νῷ). On the question of animal intelligence see further Thomas Cole, *Democritus and the Sources of Greek Anthropology* [= *American Philological Association Monograph* 25] (1967), p. 81, n.5.

²⁴ And, curiously, Protagoras' famous dictum (*Fr.* 1), πάντων χρημάτων μέτρον ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος, may be no documentation at all, first appearances notwithstanding. For, according to the commonest interpretation of that fragment (with which I agree), the meaning is that each individual man is the judge of the reality of appearances for himself, a theory of extreme epistemological subjectivism. ἄνθρωπος here means any given man as opposed to any other, not humans in general as opposed to other ζῶα. So, e.g., Plato, *Crat.* 385D-386A, *Theaet.* 151E ff; see also *Theaet.* 161C, *Legg.* 716C. Aristotle gives his opinion of this theory at *Met.* 1053b3: οὐθὲν δὴ λέγοντες περιττὸν φαίνονται τι λέγειν.

unique characteristic of man . . ." (*ἴδιον ἀνθρώπου ἐστίν*). I do not know of any other people who have expressed themselves thus emphatically in this way.²⁵ There is no better proof of the extent to which the Greek mentality was anthropocentric than the remarkable proliferation of this *topos*, which deserves ample illustration.

Significantly, it appears in attempts to discover the etymology of the word *ἄνθρωπος* itself. Plato, *Crat.* 399C: *σημαίνει τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα θηρία ὦν ὄρᾳ οὐδὲν ἐπισκοπεῖ οὐδὲ ἀναλογίζεται οὐδὲ ἀναθρεῖ, ὁ δὲ ἄνθρωπος ἅμα ἐώρακεν — τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ [τὸ] "ὄπωπε" — καὶ ἀναθρεῖ καὶ λογίζεται τοῦτο δ' ὄπωπεν · ἐντεῦθεν δὴ μόνον τῶν θηρίων ὀρθῶς ὁ ἄνθρωπος "ἄνθρωπος" ὠνομάσθη, ἀναθρῶν ἃ ὄπωπε.* This idea, that only man of animals can reflect, that he alone has understanding, has very old roots in Greece; Plato is not even the earliest extant writer to state it explicitly. Alcmaeon, *Fr.* 1a D.-K. [= Theophr. *De Sensibus* 25]: *ἄνθρωπον γάρ φησι τῶν ἄλλων [sc. ζώων] διαφέρειν ὅτι μόνον ξυνίησι, τὰ δ' ἄλλα αἰσθάνεται μὲν, οὐ ξυνίησι δέ.* The Homeric evidence will be considered below. By the time of Aristotle it seems to have become a well-established commonplace, as appears from *Politics* 1253^a9 ff: *λόγον δὲ μόνον ἄνθρωπος ἔχει τῶν ζώων . . . τοῦτο γὰρ πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα ζῶα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἴδιον, τὸ μόνον ἀγαθοῦ καὶ κακοῦ καὶ δικαίου καὶ ἀδίκου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων αἰσθησιν ἔχειν.* Similarly, in the pseudo-Platonic *Definitions*, 415A, to which reference has already been made: *ἄνθρωπος ζῶον ἄπτερον, δίπουν, πλατυνύχον · ὁ μόνον τῶν ὄντων ἐπιστήμης τῆς κατὰ λόγους δεκτικόν ἐστιν.* The historian Polybius alludes to the belief: *τοῦ γὰρ γένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων ταύτῃ διαφέροντος τῶν ἄλλων ζώων, ἥ μόνοις αὐτοῖς μέτεστι νοῦ καὶ λογισμοῦ κτλ.*²⁶ The Christian fathers were happy to take over this concept, for it seemed quite in harmony with the Scriptures. To give one example, Cyril of Alexandria (*PG* 76.1068C ff): *μόνος γὰρ αὐτὸς παρὰ πάντα τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς ζῶα λογικός ἐστι . . . κατὰ τὸ εἶναι ζῶον λογικόν, καὶ καθὸ φιλάρετον, καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ἀρχικόν, ἐν εἰκόνι θεοῦ πεποιησθαι*

²⁵ Peoples directly influenced by Greece are of course no exception. It should be noted that such "*μόνος*" locutions are used also of the gods, and especially of Zeus. *Fr. Adesp. Eleg.* 21W. *Ζεὺς πάντων αὐτὸς φάρμακα μόνος ἔχει.* *Thespis Fr.* 3.3 Snell *τὸ δ' ἡδὺ μόνος* [sc. *Ζεὺς*] *οὐκ ἐπίσταται.* *Ion Fr. Trag.* 55.2 Snell *ἔργον δ' ὅσον Ζεὺς μόνος ἐπίσταται θεῶν.* MacDowell on *Ar. Vesp.* 392 remarks "*μόνος* is common in prayers; a god is praised especially for those qualities or functions which no other god has. Cf. *Peace* 590, *Birds* 1546, *Th.* 1141, *Ek.* 12." Ussher on *Ar. Eccl.* 7-9 quotes *Orph. H.* 87.8 (Abel) *ἐν σοὶ γὰρ μούνῳ πάντων τὸ κριθέν τελοῦται.*

²⁶ 6.6.4, cited by T. Cole [above, n.23], pp. 80-81. It is indicative of the neglect to which this *topos* has been subject that Cole omits *μόνοις* in his translation ("For, since the human race differs from the other animals in this, that it partakes in the faculties of reason and calculation . . .").

λέγεται.²⁷ The etymology of ἄνθρωπος which first appears in the *Cratylus* survived intact late into the Byzantine period, as, for instance, in the so-called *Etymologicum Magnum* s.v. ἄνθρωπος: παρὰ τὸ ἄνω ἀθρεῖν, ἡγουν βλέπειν · μόνος γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων ζώων ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἄνω βλέπει. ἢ παρὰ τὸ ἀναθρεῖν ἃ ὅπωπεν, ἡγουν ἀναλογίζεσθαι ἃ εἶδε καὶ ἡκουσε, τῶν ἄλλων ζώων μὴ λογιζομένων καὶ προνοουμένων κτλ.²⁸

An appreciation of rational speech, λόγος in its external manifestation, was particularly characteristic of Greek thought. The "hymn" in praise thereof which Isocrates inserts in the *Nicocles* (3.5–9, repeated in the *Antidosis* 15.253–257), though too long to be reproduced here, may be taken as emblematic. It is by virtue of speech, he there states explicitly, that we stand apart from animals (τὰ ζῶα). In the *Panegyricus* (4.47–50) a similar encomium occurs; the *topos* turns up in c. 48: τοῦτο μόνον ἐξ ἀπάντων τῶν ζώων ἴδιον ἔφουμεν ἔχοντες. Note how Isocrates expresses the commonplace with his customary fullness of expression (inclusion of both formulae, μόνον . . . ζώων and ἴδιον, the addition of the preposition ἐξ and of ἀπάντων). Xenophon, *Mem.* 1.4.12: καὶ μὴν γλῶττάν γε πάντων τῶν ζώων ἐχόντων, μόνην τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐποίησαν [*sc.* οἱ θεοὶ] οἷαν ἄλλοτε ἀλλαχῇ ψαύουσαν τοῦ στόματος ἀρθροῦν τε τὴν φωνὴν καὶ σημαίνειν πάντα ἀλλήλοις ἃ βουλόμεθα. So too Ar. *HA* 536^b 1–2.

Anatomical and physiological features which are peculiar to "man alone of animals" are mentioned not infrequently, most noticeably perhaps in the writings of Aristotle and Galen. Thus man's hair is different, Ar. *HA* 518^a18 ff: εἰσὶ δὲ τῶν τριχῶν αἱ μὲν συγγενεῖς, αἱ δ' ὕστερον κατὰ τὰς ἡλικίας γιγνόμεναι ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ μόνῳ τῶν ζώων. Sensitivity to certain odors, those which do not contribute to the acquisition of food, but are merely pleasant in themselves, is peculiar to man, Ar. *De Sensu* 444^a3 ff: τοῦτο μὲν οὖν τὸ ὁσφραντὸν ἴδιον ἀνθρώπου ἐστὶν . . . αἷτιον δὲ τοῦ ἴδιον εἶναι ἀνθρώπου τὴν τοιαύτην ὁσμὴν διὰ τὴν ψύξιν τὴν περὶ τὸν ἐγκέφαλον.²⁹ The Hippocratic treatise *On Ancient Medicine* points out that man's food is different from that of all other animals;

²⁷ Gen. 1:26. "And God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness: and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth." Be it noted that this early Hebraic "anthropocentricity" is actually on quite a different level from that of the Greeks. God is conceived anthropomorphically — the "image" and "likeness" is a literal one — and man's "dominion" is not explicitly justified by his unique possession of a rational intellect. Indeed, in chapter three of Genesis the serpent outwits and deceives *homo sapiens*.

²⁸ Cf. *Etymologicum Gudianum* s.v. ἄνθρωπος (p. 147.8–10 De Stefani), especially the phrase μόνος ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἄνω βλέπει.

²⁹ Cf. A. E. Taylor on Pl. *Tim.* 67A2 (pp. 474–475).

the discovery of the science of medicine itself is intimately linked by the author with this fact.³⁰ The "leaping" of the heart in anticipation of what is to come is confined to man, Ar. *PA* 669^a19 ff: ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ τε γὰρ συμβαίνει μόνον, ὡς εἰπεῖν, τὸ τῆς πηδήσεως διὰ τὸ μόνον ἐν ἐλπίδι γίνεσθαι καὶ προσδοκία τοῦ μέλλοντος κτλ.³¹ Two aspects of human anatomy in particular were frequently stressed, man's use of his hands and his ability to stand erect on two legs. The observation of these phenomena and the realization of their significance were in fact brilliant achievements. Xen. *Mem.* 1.4.11: μόνον τῶν ζώων ἀνθρωπον ὀρθὸν ἀνέστησαν [*sc.* οἱ θεοὶ] . . . ἔπειτα τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἐρπετοῖς πόδας ἔδωκαν . . . ἀνθρώπῳ δὲ καὶ χεῖρας προσέθεσαν. Ar. *PA* 687^a4 ff: εἴρηται καὶ διότι μόνον ὀρθὸν ἐστὶ τῶν ζώων ὁ ἀνθρωπος · ὀρθῷ δ' ὄντι τὴν φύσιν οὐδεμία χρεία σκελῶν τῶν ἐμπροσθίων, ἀλλ' ἀντὶ τούτων βραχίονας καὶ χεῖρας ἀποδέδωκεν ἡ φύσις. Ἀναξαγόρας μὲν οὖν φησι διὰ τὸ χεῖρας ἔχειν φρονιμώτατον εἶναι τῶν ζώων ἀνθρωπον · εὐλογον δὲ διὰ τὸ φρονιμώτατον εἶναι χεῖρας λαμβάνειν κτλ. So also Galen, *De Usu Partium* 3.1 [= 3.168 Kühn] χεῖρας μὲν δὴ μόνος ἀπάντων ζώων ἀνθρωπος ἔσχεν, ὄργανα πρέποντα ζώῳ σοφῷ · δίδουν δ' αὐτὸ μόνον ἐν τοῖς πεζοῖς ἐγένετο καὶ ὀρθόν, ὅτι χεῖρας ἔσχεν; *ib.* 1.3 [= 3.5 Kühn] οὕτω μὲν σοφώτατον τῶν ζώων ὁ ἀνθρωπος, οὕτω δὲ καὶ χεῖρες ὄργανα πρέποντα ζώῳ σοφῷ. This Greek recognition of a connection between hands and intelligence is particularly remarkable.³² The derivative account of human progress in the first book of Diodorus Siculus refers to man, εὐφυεῖ ζώῳ καὶ συνεργοὺς ἔχοντι πρὸς ἅπαντα χεῖρας καὶ λόγον καὶ ψυχῆς ἀγχίνοιαν (1.8.9). The collocation is noteworthy; compare the similar collocation in *On Ancient Medicine* 1: ὥσπερ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τεχνῶν πασέων οἱ δημιουργοὶ πολλὸν ἀλλήλων διαφέρουσιν κατὰ χεῖρα καὶ κατὰ γνώμην, οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ ἱητρικῆς. Explicit awareness of the special connection of hands with man can already be seen in the familiar fragment [15 D.-K.] of Xenophanes which begins ἀλλ' εἰ χεῖρας ἔχον βόες <ἵπποι τ'> ἢ λέοντες / ἢ γράφαι χεῖρεσσι καὶ ἔργα τελεῖν ἄπερ ἄνδρες κτλ. Galen returns again and again to the uniqueness of man's upright posture. *De Usu Partium* 3.2 [= 3.179 Kühn] ὀρθὸς δὲ μόνος ζώων ἀπάντων ὁ ἀνθρωπος, μόνῳ γὰρ αὐτῷ κατ' εὐθὺ τῶν σκελῶν ἡ ράχιν ἐστίν; see also *ib.* 15.8 [= 4.251 Kühn]. He makes the further point that man alone can sit with ease on the hip bones, *ib.* 3.1 [= 3.173 Kühn] καὶ τὸ καθέζεσθαι χρησίμως ἐπὶ τῶν ἰσχίων μόνῳ

³⁰ Chapter 3; note especially the wording in the clause εἰ ἐξήρκει τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ταῦτ' ἐσθίωντι καὶ πίνοντι βοὶ τε καὶ ἵππῳ καὶ πᾶσιν ἐκτὸς ἀνθρώπου.

³¹ Cf. LSJ s.vv. *πηδάω II*, *πήδημα II*, *πήδησις II*.

³² For some of the modern literature on this topic see T. Cole [above, n.23], p. 40 and notes. Contemporary evolutionary theory would of course side with Anaxagoras against Aristotle. For Aristotle on hands see also *De Anima* 432^a1 ff.

τούτῳ πάντων ζώων ὑπάρχει. λέληθε δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τοὺς πολλούς, καὶ νομίζουσιν ὀρθὸν μόνον εἶναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον, οὐκ εἰδότες ὅτι καὶ τὸ καθέξῃς ἄνθρωπος ἔχει. As late as the fourteenth century the commonplace was still being repeated; Ioannes Catrares ap. Diels-Kranz *VS* II.137.22-23: μόνος τῶν ἄλλων ζώων γίνεται τὸ σχῆμα ὀρθὸς καὶ πρὸς ὀλίγον γῆς ἄπτεται.

Various other distinctive human characteristics are mentioned. Man is the animal who laughs. Pollux 6.200: γελαστικός· οὕτω γὰρ ὀρίζονται τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ὅτι μόνος ἐξ ἀπάντων τῶν ζώων γελᾷ. Iamblichus, *Protrepticus* 21.κς': ἀνθρώπου ἴδιον παρὰ τὰ ἄλλα ζῶα οὗτος [*sc.* ὁ γέλως] (ὀρίζονται γοῦν τινες ζῶον αὐτὸ γελαστικὸν εἶναι) . . . ἀλλὰ μίμησιν θεοῦ κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν κτῶ φιλοσοφῶν καὶ τοῦ ἰδιώματος τούτου τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑπεκχωρῶν προκρίνων τε τὸ λογικὸν τοῦ γελαστικοῦ εἰς διάκρισιν καὶ διαφορὰν πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ ζῶα. Sextus Empiricus, *Outlines of Pyrrhonism* 2.211, refers to the ζῶον γελαστικόν, and Lucian, *Vit. Auct.* 26, states ἄνθρωπος μὲν γελαστικόν, ὄνος δὲ οὐ γελαστικόν. Pseudo-Basilus (*PG* 29.688C) sets out a syllogism in embryo: ἴδιον δὲ ἀνθρώπου τὸ γελαστικόν, καὶ εἴ τι γελαστικόν, ἄνθρωπος. Uncommon, but perceptive, is the observation made by "Simonides" in Xenophon's *Hiero* (7.3): καὶ γάρ μοι δοκεῖ . . . τούτῳ διαφέρειν ἀνὴρ τῶν ἄλλων ζώων, τῷ τιμῆς ὀρέγεσθαι. Man alone grasps logical consequences, is "critical," Plut. *Mor.* 386 F: εἴ γε τῆς μὲν ὑπάρξεως τῶν πραγμάτων ἔχει καὶ τὰ θηρία γνῶσιν, ἀκολουθοῦν δὲ θεωρίαν καὶ κρίσιν ἀνθρώπῳ μόνῳ παραδέδωκεν ἡ φύσις. And man alone has free will, Marcus Aurelius 10.28: μόνῳ τῷ λογικῷ ζῳῷ δέδοται τὸ ἐκουσίως ἔπεσθαι τοῖς γινομένοις, τὸ δὲ ἔπεσθαι ψιλὸν πᾶσιν ἀναγκαῖον. Religion is peculiar to man, Xen. *Mem.* 1.4.13, Plato, *Protag.* 322A ὁ ἄνθρωπος . . . ζῶον μόνον θεοὺς ἐνόμισεν (imitated by Philostratus, *VA* 8.7.7 μόνον ζῶον θεοὺς οἶδε)³³ and, more fully, *Menex.* 237D: συνέσει τε ὑπερέχει τῶν ἄλλων [*sc.* ζώων] καὶ δίκην καὶ θεοὺς μόνον νομίζει. The use of δίκη in this latter passage is significant. δίκη in the sense of "justice" is not an Attic usage (= δικαιοσύνη, τὰ δίκαια), and, where it is found in Attic, deliberate archaizing should be suspected.³⁴ Here Plato may very well have in mind Hesiod, who expressly distinguished man from animals by virtue of the fact that man has δίκη and they do not (*Erga* 276-280, on which see below). The Christians went beyond earlier thinkers by applying "man alone of animals" to specifically Christian religious beliefs. So Nemesius, p. 55 Matthaëi: ἴδιον δὲ αὐτοῦ [*sc.* ἀνθρώπου] καὶ ἐξαίρετον καὶ τὸ μόνον τῶν ἄλλων ζώων τὸ τούτου σῶμα μετὰ θάνατον

³³ See my *Studies in Greek Texts*. Hypomnemata 43 (Göttingen, 1976), p. 123.

³⁴ As, for example, in the religiously conservative language of the *Laws* 777D ὁ . . . σέβων τὴν δίκην [σέβειν also is uncommon in Attic prose], 887B δίκην τιμῶντες.

ἀνίστασθαι καὶ εἰς ἀθανασίαν χωρεῖν. That this is a conscious extension of traditional notions is shown by the fact that Nemesius goes on, almost at once, to add ἴδια δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ τῶν τεχνῶν τε καὶ ἐπιστημῶν μαθήματα, καὶ αἱ κατὰ τὰς τέχνας ταύτας ἐνέργειαι. The human discovery of the various arts and sciences had been a commonplace since at least the fifth century B.C.

The most awesome claim in the entire "man alone of animals" series is that man alone is, in one sense or other, divine. Closely related to this is the notion that man alone is, in essence, an imitation of the deity.³⁵ Pl. *Protag.* 322A ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὁ ἄνθρωπος θείας μετέσχε μοίρας, πρῶτον μὲν διὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ συγγένειαν ζῶων μόνον θεοὺς ἐνόμισεν. Ar. *PA* 656^a8 ff ἡ γὰρ μόνον [sc. τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος] μετέχει τοῦ θείου τῶν ἡμῖν γνωρίμων ζῶων, ἡ μάλιστα πάντων. Ib. 686^a27 ff ὁρθὸν μὲν γάρ ἐστι μόνον τῶν ζῶων διὰ τὸ τὴν φύσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν εἶναι θείαν · ἔργον δὲ τοῦ θειοτάτου τὸ νοεῖν καὶ φρονεῖν.³⁶ Cleanthes, *Hymn to Zeus* vv. 4-5, p. 227 Powell [= *SVF* 1.121.37 f] ἐκ σοῦ γὰρ γένος ἐσμέν, †ἡχοῦ† μίμημα λαχόντες / μοῦνοι, ὅσα ζῶει τε καὶ ἔρπει θνήτ' ἐπὶ γαῖαν.³⁷ Musonius Rufus ap. Stob. 5.1057 Hense [= *Fr.* 17 Hense], καθόλου δὲ ἄνθρωπος μίμημα μὲν θεοῦ μόνον τῶν ἐπιγείων ἐστίν.³⁸ Galen, *De Usu Partium* 1.2 [= 3.3 Kühn], σοφὸν γὰρ τοῦτο τὸ ζῶον [sc. ἄνθρωπος] καὶ μόνον τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς θείον. Ib. 13.11 [= 4.126-127 Kühn], ἀνθρώπων, διότι λογικόν ἐστι τὴν ψυχὴν τὸ ζῶον καὶ θείον μόνον τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς. Genesis 1:26³⁹ made ready a welcome reception, first on the part of Philo and then of the Christians, for the Greek philosophic idea that man was an "image and likeness" of God. The long history of that concept in Christian theology cannot be traced here, but one passage, from the "renegade" Tatian, may be adduced. It shows that man's uniqueness in this regard could be maintained even by those who did not accept λόγος — the usual touchstone of the divine in man — as a peculiar prerogative of men. *Oratio ad Graecos*, c. 15: ἔστι γὰρ ἄνθρωπος οὐχ,

³⁵ For a brief discussion, with references, of this latter concept see *HSCP* 68.1964.383-384.

³⁶ Cf. also *EN* 1177^b26-31; 1153^b32 is different: πάντα γὰρ φύσει ἔχει τι θείον.

³⁷ Verse 5 is modeled on *Il.* 17.447 = *Od.* 18.131, πάντων ὅσα τε γαῖαν ἐπιπνέει τε καὶ ἔρπει. The preceding verse in the *Odyssey* is οὐδὲν ἀκινδνότερον γαῖα τρέφει ἀνθρώποι; the corresponding line in the *Iliad* is a comparably lugubrious specimen of *pessimismus Homericus*. Imitation of a verse from these Homeric contexts strongly suggests that Cleanthes intends here a conscious correction of Homer.

³⁸ Cf. A. C. van Geytenbeek, *Musonius Rufus and Greek Diatribe* (Assen, 1963), p. 24.

³⁹ καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς Ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν; compare above, n.27.

ὥσπερ οἱ κορακόφωνοι δογματίζουσιν, ζῶον λογικόν, νοῦ καὶ ἐπιστήμης δεκτικόν· δειχθήσεται γὰρ κατ' αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ ἄλογα νοῦ καὶ ἐπιστήμης δεκτικά. μόνος δὲ ἄνθρωπος εἰκὼν καὶ ὁμοίωσις τοῦ θεοῦ· λέγω δὲ ἄνθρωπον οὐχὶ τὸν ὅμοιον τοῖς ζώοις πράττοντα, ἀλλὰ τὸν πόρρω μὲν ἀνθρωπότητος πρὸς αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν θεὸν κεχωρηκότα. The contrast between men and other ζῶα could hardly be expressed more emphatically than it is in these (and similar) passages. There is no question of other animals sharing in the divine. This is well brought out by Galen, who takes the μίμημα motif one step further, *De Usu Partium* 1.22 [= 3.80 Kühn] αὐτῷ [sc. τῷ πιθήκῳ] τὸ σύμπαν σῶμα μίμημα γελοῖόν ἐστιν ἀνθρώπου. Evidently he considered the point of some importance, for he repeats it more than once. Ib. 15.8 [= 4.252 Kühn] μίμημα γὰρ γελοῖον ἀνθρώπου ζῶον ἐδιδάξαμεν ὑπάρχον; see also 3.16 [= 3.264–265 Kühn], 11.2 [= 3.848 Kühn]. This analogy, which sharply contrasts even the most anthropoid of animals with man, is old, as can be seen from Heraclitus, *Fr.* 82 D.-K., πιθήκων ὁ κάλλιστος αἰσχροὺς ἀνθρώπων γένει συμβάλλειν.⁴⁰

Thus we conclude this sampling of the “μόνον τῶν ζώων ἄνθρωπος” *topos*. It would not be difficult to quadruple these specimens, so thoroughly and rigorously anthropocentric had the Greek mind become.⁴¹ If a change were to be effected, perhaps the most promising approach lay in taxonomy, the scientific study of the classification of animals (and plants). For such a study, by assigning man a definite place in a larger order of animals, might lead to the conclusion that he was but one ζῶον among many. It is known from the accurate representation of animals in the art of earlier peoples that the Greeks were not the first to engage in the careful observation of animal anatomy. But taxonomy as such begins with them.⁴² Even in Greece the earliest known divisions are casual and rough-hewn. The so-called “koisches Tiersystem,” which has been reconstructed from the Hippocratic work *Regimen* 2.46 ff, is exaggerated. There different varieties of flesh and meat (animals, birds, fish) are listed in order to describe their effect as food upon humans; then the effect of such items as birds' eggs, cheese, water, wine, etc., is described. Such a pragmatic account hardly constitutes, or implies, a formal taxonomy undertaken for its own

⁴⁰ Pindar, *Pyth.* 2.72–73 perhaps belongs here: καλὸς τοι πίθων παρὰ παισίν, αἰεὶ καλός.

⁴¹ Numerous examples could also be adduced from Latin sources directly influenced by the Greek. Suffice to mention, *exempli gratia*, Pliny's *Natural History*, preface to Book VII (. . . ante omnia unum animantium . . . uni animantium . . . uni . . . uni . . . uni . . . uni . . . uni . . . uni . . .).

⁴² At least so far as is known at present. If earlier foreign systems existed, they hardly influenced Aristotle's original researches.

sake. For that one must go to Aristotle.⁴³ His zoological works cannot, on the whole, be described as anthropocentric. Solmsen has recently written: "While the *Timaeus* is anthropocentric, Plato contenting himself with some very few and very brief glances at other living creatures, Aristotle's biology has the entire variety of animals for its subject. Man, with whom Aristotle is preoccupied in his ethical and political writings, is in the biology just one of the large variety of beings."⁴⁴ This "new biology" had within itself a potential for diminishing the Greek proclivity towards anthropocentricity. In actuality, nothing of the sort happened. Aristotle himself, apart from the zoological works, reveals a quite anthropocentric outlook, which is concisely summed up in the *Politics*, 1253^a31-32: τελεωθεὶς βέλτιστον τῶν ζώων ἄνθρωπός ἐστιν. What distinguishes man is, of course, the intellectual faculty in his soul, *De Anima* 414^b18-19, ἑτέροις δὲ καὶ τὸ διανοητικόν τε καὶ νοῦς, οἷον ἀνθρώποις καὶ εἴ τι τοιοῦτον ἕτερον ἔστιν ἢ τιμιώτερον. But even in the zoological treatises, this bias appears, *GA* 737^b26 ff: νῦν δ' ἀπὸ τῶν πρώτων ἀρκτέον πρώτον · ἔστι δὲ τὰ τέλεια ζῶα πρώτα, τοιαῦτα δὲ τὰ ζωοτοκοῦντα, καὶ τούτων ἄνθρωπος πρώτον. In these treatises, as we have seen, man is singled out as a "divine" animal; above all, it is in them that the "man alone of animals" motif occurs so often. Accuse Aristotle of some inconsistency, if you will; there is no doubt of man's special status in all Aristotle's thought. Moreover, he taught explicitly that plants and animals existed for man's benefit, *Politics* 1256^b15 ff: οἰητέον τὰ τε φυτὰ τῶν ζώων ἕνεκεν εἶναι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ζῶα τῶν ἀνθρώπων χάριν . . . ἀναγκαῖον τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἕνεκεν αὐτὰ πάντα πεποιηκέναι τὴν φύσιν. The Stoics adopted the same position, *SVF* 2.333.22-24: προηγουμένως μὲν γὰρ τὸ λογικὸν ζῶον, διὰ δὲ τὴν αὐτοῦ χρεῖαν κτήνη καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς φύόμενα. Such dogma was gladly adopted by the Christians who could read in Genesis that God had given man dominion over the rest of creation. It is no accident that the Stoic fragment just cited has been preserved by Origen.

Of considerable interest is the fact that the tendency to regard man,

⁴³ Cf. W. D. Ross, *Aristotle*⁵ (1959), p. 114: "Not only was Aristotle the first person to whom it occurred to collect the available information about the animal species, but he was also the first to undertake the problem of their classification." Ross gives a good summary of Aristotle's views. The difficult question of the Aristotelian classification of animals, which has a literature of its own, does not concern us here. To what extent, indeed whether, Aristotle constructed one consistent taxonomic system is not the point. It is rather that the main outlines of a general division of animals into certain basic orders is discernible in his writings, and that man can be placed into one of these orders.

⁴⁴ *Hermes* 106.1978.479-480.

especially because of his intellect, as quite discrete from animals appears already in the oldest extant works of Greek literature. The anthropocentric attitude is not a creation of Greek philosophy. Here, as often, the professional philosophers merely developed into coherent theory old, half-expressed beliefs deeply rooted in the Greek consciousness. In the *Odyssey*, when Odysseus' men are turned into swine by Circe, the poet describes them as follows: οἱ δὲ συῶν μὲν ἔχον κεφαλὰς φωνήν τε τρίχας τε / καὶ δέμας, αὐτὰρ νοῦς ἦν ἔμπεδος ὥς τὸ πάρος περ.⁴⁵ It is not a question of two (or more) different types of νοῦς, those of men and of animals;⁴⁶ clearly the poet sees νοῦς, "mind," as something which men have and animals do not.⁴⁷ A later age might talk, for instance, of νοῦς as a distinguishing property of human, as opposed to animal, nature; presumably Greeks of the Homeric period did not yet possess the linguistic equipment for that. Nonetheless they felt it at some level. And if νοῦς separated men from animals in Homer, it also linked them with the gods. Zeus has a νόος.⁴⁸ Another subtle distinction of epic usage points up the fact that a real difference was sensed between men and animals. In Homer the (eschatological) ψυχὴ flies off at death. It has been remarked that in four passages the θυμός is described, untypically, as flying away upon death; in each instance the θυμός belongs to an *animal*.⁴⁹ Snell explains this usage as follows: "people were averse to ascribing the *psyche*, which a human being loses when he dies, also to an animal. They therefore invented the idea of a *thymos* which leaves the animal when it expires."⁵⁰ The Homeric poets, therefore, tended to think of men as set apart from animals by virtue of their possession of νοῦς and ψυχὴ. Those are not insignificant differences.

Hesiod introduces yet another important difference, *Erga* 276-279: τόνδε γὰρ ἀνθρώποισι νόμον διέταξε Κρονίων, / ἰχθύσι μὲν καὶ θηροῖ καὶ οἰωνοῖς πετεηνοῖς / ἔσθειν ἀλλήλους, ἐπεὶ οὐ δίκη ἐστὶ μετ' αὐτοῖς · /

⁴⁵ 10.239-240.

⁴⁶ Even if it were, the contrast therein implied would set men off from animals.

⁴⁷ It is in keeping with Homeric beliefs that man loses νοῦς upon death. The blind seer Tiresias is the exception that proves the rule; even in Hades his φρένες ἔμπεδοί εἰσιν / τῷ καὶ τεθνηῶτι νόον πόρε Περσεφόνηα / οἷω πεπνύσθαι (*Od.* 10.493-495). In *Il.* 23.104 it is said of the shades in Hades that φρένες οὐκ ἔνι πάμπαν. *Od.* 11.475-476 . . . "Αἰδόσδε . . . ἔνθα τε νεκροὶ / ἀφραδέες ναίουσι.

⁴⁸ *Il.* 15.461 οὐ λῆθε Διὸς πυκνὸν νόον; see also 15.242, 16.103, 17.176.

⁴⁹ See especially Bruno Snell, *The Discovery of the Mind*, pp. 11-12 = *Die Entdeckung des Geistes*⁴ (Göttingen, 1975), p. 21. The passages are *Il.* 16.469 (horse), 23.880 (dove), *Od.* 10.163 (deer), 19.454 (boar).

⁵⁰ See above, n.49. Snell does not, however, mention *Od.* 14.426 τὸν δ' ἔλιπε ψυχὴ (of a boar). This does not refute his conjecture, which is based upon a general aversion, not an absolute rule.

ἀνθρώποισι δ' ἔδωκε δίκην. Man has δίκη as a gift from the gods; fish and beasts and birds do not. Centuries later Plato wrote that man had a kinship with the gods⁵¹ and that accordingly man alone of animals practiced δίκη (*supra*). In the *Protagoras* myth it is even stated that Zeus gave justice to men; the words are the same as in Hesiod (322 C δοίη δίκην). The continuity of the tradition is particularly clear here. Examination of Hesiod's standard for the presence or absence of δίκη proves revealing. Because they have no δίκη, other living things, unlike man, eat one another; they are, in a word, cannibals. The Greeks regarded cannibalism with abhorrence; one tends to forget that not all societies do. Herodotus mentions several times a northern race of "man-eaters"; the language which he uses to describe them is reminiscent of Hesiod, 4.106: Ἀνδροφάγοι δὲ ἀγριώτατα πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἔχουσι ἦθεα, οὔτε δίκην νομίζοντες οὔτε νόμῳ οὐδενὶ χρεώμενοι. Aristotle in the *Nicomachean Ethics* explicitly describes cannibalistic dispositions as "beastlike" (θηριώδεις, 1148^b19).⁵² Whether Hesiod considered fish, beasts, and birds here as three separate "orders" of animals (to employ a later terminology) or whether the three nouns are used collectively as a poetic periphrasis for ζῶα is not apparent.⁵³ Probably he had not reflected one way or the other. The important point is that fishes, beasts, birds, whether one group or three, all go together in opposition to man. From this it follows that for Hesiod the cannibalism consisted either in any animal eating any other (if one group) or in any fish, beast, or bird eating, respectively, any other fish, beast or bird (if three groups). That Hesiod is thinking only of species which are cannibalistic in the strict sense, whereby one member of the species eats another member of the same species, is out of the question. The general, or rather universal, mode of expression in *Erga* 276 ff excludes that. Any lingering doubts can be removed by reference to the fable of the hawk and the nightingale in *Erga* 202 ff (two different species of birds). But if this is so, then Hesiod has a point of view toward animals drastically different from ours. For a fox to eat a hare, an eagle to eat a

⁵¹ That men were actually related to the gods is an old Greek belief; see Hes. *Erg.* 108; *h. Apoll.* 335–336; Pindar *Nem.* 6.1 ff. Philosophical teaching about the kinship of man with the divine had its ancestors.

⁵² That cannibalism was thoroughly abhorrent to the Greeks from early times is clear from *Il.* 4.34–36, 22.346–347, 24.212–213 (to say nothing of the Laestrygonians and the Cyclops); see also Xen. *Anab.* 4.8.14. For cannibalism as a feature of primitive life in the theories of the classical period see W. K. C. Guthrie, *In the Beginning* (Ithaca, 1957) p. 95 with n.1.

⁵³ One cannot be sure whether Hesiod knew the word ζῶον; most likely he did. It is first attested in Semonides (*Fr.* 13 W.), from whom Hesiod is not that far removed in time. The argument from silence would be worthless here.

chicken, a shark a tuna — these are to us no more examples of cannibalism than for a man to eat the same items. And if an eagle is a cannibal for eating a rabbit, a man is more so, for he is more closely related to the rabbit. Hesiod can escape the charge of illogicality only if we recognize what his premise was, that all animals (or all fishes, beasts, birds) constitute one broad class (or three) on a par with man, so that mutual conduct within the group is equivalent to mutual conduct among men. Presumably when a lion eats a deer, it is comparable, say, to a Greek eating a Trojan. This is not to say that Hesiod had thought all this out. Quite the contrary. His unconscious, doubtless inherited, inclination toward animals was to lump them all together *when brought into explicit connection with man*. Plato was to do the same thing; see especially *Polit.* 263 C (*supra*, p. 241). This is the real significance of the passage. It demonstrates a rigid polarity, one in which man clearly appears superior. He has *δίκη*.

There is a passage in Archilochus which may seem to weaken the force of the Hesiodic evidence, *Fr.* 177 West [= 94 Diehl]:

ὦ Ζεῦ, πάτερ Ζεῦ, σὸν μὲν οὐρανοῦ κράτος,
 σὺ δ' ἔργ' ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων ὄρας
 λεωργὰ καὶ θεμιστά, σοὶ δὲ θηρίων
 ὕβρις τε καὶ δίκη μέλει.

This is the only place in early Greek literature where *δίκη* is attributed to animals. The testimonium counts for nothing, not because it is unique, but because it occurs in a *fable*, that of the fox and the eagle. It is normal practice in fables to represent animals behaving like humans, with human values, usually to inculcate some moral lesson. Nothing whatsoever about the actual attitudes of a people toward animals can be inferred from their use of such fables. For the present question the most significant thing about fables is that they are rare in the remains of early Greek and never seem to have been fully accepted into the corpus of serious literature. The simplest explanation of this is that the condescending attitude of the Greeks toward animals prevented them from elevating the genre. It seemed too homely to them. Man had to remain on center stage.

We have made a long journey backward, from late Byzantine scribblers to Homer and Hesiod. The results of this survey may perhaps throw a little light on some of the directions which Greek religion and philosophy took. First, there is the widespread sociological phenomenon known as totemism. Central to this is a belief that a given clan or tribe is descended from, and is akin to, a particular animal or plant, which accordingly enjoys special treatment from the group in question.

Strenuous efforts have been directed toward the discovery of totemism in Greece.⁵⁴ Nilsson, for one, has opposed this vigorously: "It is unproved and doubtful whether totemism ever existed among the forefathers of the Greeks, and, if it did exist, the totemistic ideas and rites were transformed under the influence of a new world of ideas, in particular agrarian ideas, so that they can no longer with certainty be pointed to as totemistic."⁵⁵ The great historian of ancient religion has put his finger on it. If ever the ancestors of the Greeks practiced totemism, their beliefs have changed so drastically as to make the original concepts no longer recognizable. Nilsson mentions the influence of agrarian ideas, and rightly so. But whether the Greeks never had totemism at all or rather suppressed it, in either case a fundamental factor surely was their "elitist" attitude *vis-à-vis* animals. In sharp contrast to numerous peoples all over the world, they objected to having animals as relatives. With theriomorphism, the representation of deities in animal form, the situation is even clearer. Not that theriomorphic gods did not exist in Greece; old ways die hard. But there would be little point in tallying up the animal gods found there. Place theriomorphism and anthropomorphism in the scales and there is no doubt which would tip the beam. The contrast with Greece's neighbor Egypt, to go no further, is obvious. The Greek view of man as an intelligent being, set apart from the animals and even, in one or other sense, akin to the gods, created a climate most favorable for the development of anthropomorphism. And develop it did, more fully and consistently than anywhere else. There is a *bon mot* to the effect that in the Homeric poems three categories of human beings appear—the commoners, the nobles, and the gods. Aristotle recognized the phenomenon long before: ὥσπερ δὲ καὶ τὰ εἶδη ἐαυτοῖς ἀφομοιοῦσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, οὕτω καὶ τοὺς βίους τῶν θεῶν.⁵⁶ The Greeks could conceive of none better in whose image to fashion the gods than man himself. The chief anthropomorphic gods of the Greeks were not characterized by the grotesque or exaggerated features found so commonly in the gods of other peoples;⁵⁷ they were rather paragons of physical human beauty. In their conduct they were, alas, all too human. In short, anthropomorphism was brought to perfection by the Greeks and therein, paradoxically, lay the seeds of its destruction. Their gods had become too much like men to be accepted as gods. The attacks of Xenophanes and

⁵⁴ For an amusing sketch of a typical attempt see W. K. C. Guthrie, *The Greeks and Their Gods*, p. 22.

⁵⁵ *A History of Greek Religion*, p. 78.

⁵⁶ *Pol.* 1252^b26–27.

⁵⁷ Such representations of course are not unknown in Greece.

others on the anthropomorphic deities are well known and need not be rehearsed here. At the obvious risk of oversimplification I shall set out the historical sequence quite baldly. Had not the Greeks held the severely anthropocentric view of the world which they did, with its unequivocal and untypical elevation of man over animals, anthropomorphism in Greece would never have reached such a perfectly developed state. And had not anthropomorphism so evolved, traditional Greek religion would not have been vulnerable to the devastating attacks made upon it by reflective men, who now found themselves confronted with a momentous choice to make. They could either abandon all belief in the gods, or they could assume the difficult task of creating new theologies. Almost without exception they chose the latter. Vlastos has observed, "When one reads the Presocratics with open mind and sensitive ear one cannot help being struck by the religious note in much of what they say. Few words occur more frequently in their fragments than the term 'god.'"⁵⁸ In a remarkably short period of time Plato and Aristotle, building upon — and departing from — the foundations of their predecessors, were to work out the concept of an incorporeal deity, a concept which remained fundamental in Western theology for over two thousand years. But that is a different story⁵⁹ and it is time to conclude this one. I can think of no better conclusion than the words of a Stoic fragment: οὐκ οὖν ἀνθρωποειδῆς ὁ θεός.⁶⁰ All things considered, that is a surprise ending.⁶¹

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⁵⁸ *Philosophical Quarterly* 2.1952.97 = *Studies in Presocratic Philosophy*, ed. Furley and Allen, vol. I (1970), p. 92. Vlastos gives figures from the *Wortindex* to Diels-Kranz *Vorsokr.*: eight columns of listings for θεός, as against six for φύσις and less than six for κόσμος. He might have added almost two more columns of θεῖος.

⁵⁹ For this question see my "On the Greek Origins of the Concepts Incorporeality and Immateriality," in *GRBS* 21.1980.105-138.

⁶⁰ *SVF* 2.311.36-37 = Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 7.7, p. 852 Pott. Compare Diog. Laert. 7.141 = *SVF* 2.305.15-17 θεὸν . . . μὴ εἶναι . . . ἀνθρωπόμορφον.

⁶¹ That anthropomorphism *alone* is the magic key to a full understanding of the beginnings of Greek philosophy and theology is a thesis so naive that I had better state outright that such is not my belief. The problem is of course far more complex than that and the emphatic, not to say curt, language of my concluding paragraph is intended merely as a corrective to certain failures to take adequate cognizance of this important factor. For detailed treatments of the whole question see W. Jaeger, *The Theology of the Early Greek Philosophers* (Oxford, 1947), and G. Vlastos' valuable commentary on that work, "Theology and Philosophy in Early Greek Thought" (*Philosophical Quarterly* 2.1952.97-123 = *Studies in Presocratic Philosophy*, ed. Furley and Allen (New York, 1970),

pp. 92-129.) Vlastos finely observes "the unique achievement of the Presocratics as *religious* thinkers . . . in a word, lies in the fact that they, and they alone, not only among the Greeks but among all the people of the Mediterranean world, Semitic or Indo-European, dared transpose the name and function of divinity into a realm conceived as a rigorously natural order and, therefore, completely purged of miracle and magic." (*PQ* p. 116 = *Studies* p. 119.) But such an achievement was inconceivable so long as thinkers (such as Hesiod) could still accept anthropomorphic deities. Their philosophical teachings prove that even the earliest Presocratics no longer found anthropomorphism adequate. Xenophanes is not the first thinker to reject it; he is rather the first (of whom we know) to undertake a *positive* attack upon the anthropomorphic gods. That is, the argument in the text that fully developed anthropomorphism was *one* direct cause of the first philosophical "theologizing" is not open to chronological objections. (Vlastos' criticism of Jaeger's use of the term "theology" [*PQ* pp. 101-103 = *Studies* pp. 98-99] seems a bit over-subtle to me; whatever the historical origins and connotations of the Greek word *θεολογία*, the English word "theology" (and German *Theologie*) is not at all misleading in such a study. For the history of the Greek word see the references in *The Cambridge History of Later Greek and Early Medieval Philosophy*, ed. A. H. Armstrong (Cambridge, 1970), p. 429 n.4).

OCTOBER HORSE

C. BENNETT PASCAL

A. THE RITE

"October Horse" is the name of the horse which is annually sacrificed to Mars on the Campus Martius in the month of October. It is the right-hand horse of the winning pair in a chariot race. There used to be an intense struggle for its head between the inhabitants of the Subura and those of the Sacra Via: the latter hoping to affix it to the wall of the Regia, the former to the Mamilian Tower. And the tail of the same animal is conveyed to the Regia, with speed enough for the blood to drip from it to the hearth, for partaking in a divine service.¹

THE day of the sacrifice is the Ides, or the fifteenth day of October.² The festival itself has no known name, such as Equirria or Agonalia or any of the other neuter-plural titles which appear on the calendars; we know only the name of the sacrificial victim. The horse selected for the sacrifice is felled with a spear.³ We are not told who casts the weapon, nor whether he deals a killing blow. In any case, subsequent decapitation would finish the work of an imperfect cast. The head of the animal, presumably after the sacrifice, was garlanded with loaves, "because the sacrifice was performed on account of a successful crop of grain" (*quia id sacrificium fiebat ob frugum eventum*).⁴

The high points of the ritual are reasonably certain: the race, the spearing and decapitation, the battle for the head, its decoration with bread, and the speedy transfer of the dripping tail to the Regia. The ancient accounts, so far as they go, can be trusted for their record of the

¹ Festus 190 L: October equus appellatur, qui in campo Martio mense Octobri immolatur quotannis Marti, bigarum victricum dexterior. De cuius capite non levis contentio solebat esse inter Suburanenses et Sacravienses, ut hi in regiae pariete, illi ad turrim Mamiliam id figerent; eiusdemque coda tanta celeritate perfertur in regiam, ut ex ea sanguis destillet in focum, participandae rei divinae gratia.

² Plut. *QR* 97, p. 287a: Ides of December (an error); Philocalus, *CIL* I², p. 274 (*Inscriptiones Italiae* 13:2, p. 256 f): *Equus ad nixas fit*.

³ Timaeus *ap.* Polybius 12.4b.

⁴ Festus 246 L, s.v. "Panibus."

bare facts: when they differ, they amplify rather than contradict each other, even when they diverge in their explanations for the choice of a horse instead of the more customary victims. Those ancient commentators who mention Timaeus's idea that the affair is an act of vicarious revenge for the ruse of the Trojan Horse have the good sense to scoff at it.⁵ (One recent scholar, however, has implied a common mythological or ritual origin for the real and the wooden horse.)⁶

In addition to the straightforward accounts of the events of the Ides of October, there is also the indirect evidence of the Horse's importance for the Parilia on April 21: namely, that the blood of the October Horse was mixed with the ashes of the unborn calf killed at the Fordicidia six days before the Parilia, and that the mixture was thrown into the fires of bean straw, as a kind of lustral fumigant. There is no explicit statement that it was actually the October Horse's blood that was so used; for Ovid tells us that the Vestal Virgins provided the blood of *a* horse,⁷ and Propertius briefly mentions lustration by means of a maimed horse.⁸ Yet it would be taxing probability to insist that another victim of the sort not ordinarily sacrificed by the Romans was killed to flavor the smoke of the springtime fires.

It is commonly assumed, but without real evidence, that the officiating priest, and actual thrower of the spear, was the flamen Martialis. This has been inferred not only from the locale and presumed recipient of the sacrifice but also from Cassius Dio's account of a grisly event in 46 B.C., wherein Georg Wissowa thought that he detected an imitation of the October Horse.⁹ On this occasion, Julius Caesar arbitrarily selected two members of a group of mutinous — or merely unruly — soldiers to be "sacrificed" by the pontifices and the *ιερεὺς* of Mars (Dio elsewhere in his history thus translates flamen), whereupon they were

⁵ Festus 190 L, Polybius 12.4b.

⁶ Walter Burkert, *Homo Necans* (Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten 32, Berlin and New York, 1972) 178–181, cites similar but unrelated mythological incidents, such as Laocoön's attempt to spear the Trojan Horse, and the obscure tradition that Odysseus was posthumously turned into a horse (Sext. Emp. *Adv. Math.* 1.264, 267; Phot. *Bibl.* 150a [Migne, PG 103.62]; Serv. *Aen.* 2.44), and ruses employing animals other than horses: e.g., Odysseus's escape from the cave of Polyphemus.

⁷ *Fasti* 4.732 f: *Vesta dabit; . . . sanguis equi suffimen erit.*

⁸ 4.1.19 f: *annuaque . . . Parilia . . . qualia nunc curto lustra novantur equo.*

⁹ DC 43.24.4; Georg Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*² 144 f; Georges Dumézil, "Quaestiunculæ indo-italicæ 17: Le 'sacrifice humain' de 46 avant J.-C.," *REL* 41 (1963) 87–89; id., *La religion romaine archaïque* (Paris, 1966) 160. The relevance of the incident to the October Horse is doubted by H. J. Rose, *Some Problems of Classical Religion* (Eitrem-Forelesninger 1, Oslo, 1958) 6, n.2 = Dumézil, *Réligion romaine*, 220.

decapitated and their heads affixed to the Regia. Dio calls this manner of summary execution some kind of *ἑρουργία*.

The word need not be taken too seriously; rather, Dio has to be given credit for a ponderous attempt at sarcastic wit. He compounds his attempt with the dismayed confession that he is at a loss to explain the "sacrifice": he has no Sibylline pronouncement to guide him. The point of the anecdote is not that it is an authentic religious oddity, but, rather, that it is an atrocity — quite different from the shamed secrecy with which attested human sacrifices were performed, and even different from legal executions, where the overt spilling of blood was pretended not to have taken place.¹⁰ If the incident is true, the involvement of priests of the Republic in an open, hardly legal beheading of Roman citizens is not an imitation of a regular sacrifice but a scandal.¹¹ Aside from the coincidence that it happened somewhere on the Campus Martius — and conveniently outside the pomerium — with the culminating display of the heads on the wall of the Regia, there is no convincing similarity between this rough imposition of military discipline and the complicated rites of October. Moreover, there is no evidence that the flamen of Mars, who had been compelled to do Caesar's dirty work, also officiated at the sacrifice of the Horse.

Nor, if the Horse was sacrificed to Mars, was it necessary to have the participation of the flamen Martialis. Flamines of one god regularly officiated outside his cult. The flamen Quirinalis, for example, performed the sacrifice at the Robigalia, and the flamen Portunalis tended the arms of Quirinus.¹²

B. INTERPRETATIONS

The horse as victim, the manner of sacrifice, and the disposition of the victim's parts are unexampled elsewhere in Roman religion. The unusual ritual has been explained in three notable but widely differing ways: (1) the sacrifice is a military rite, with the horse, being a warlike animal, the appropriate victim; (2) the rite is the Roman equivalent of

¹⁰ Examples of executions: a fall from the Tarpeian rock, strangulation (announced by the euphemistic *vixerunt*), bludgeoning to death of a corrupter of Vestal Virgins (presumably with an avoidance of open wounds). For human sacrifice, cf. Pierre Fabre, "Minime Romano Sacro," *REA* 42 (1940) 419-424; Minucius Felix 30.4; Porphyrius, *De Abstinencia* 2.56. Non-Roman examples of the avoidance of overt bloodletting: William Robertson Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*³ (London, 1927) 417-429.

¹¹ A similar interpretation is offered by Stefan Weinstock, *Divus Julius* (Oxford, 1971), 79.

¹² Ovid, *Fasti* 4.910; Festus 238 L, s.v. "Persillum."

the Indic royal sacrifice of a horse; (3) the horse is the personification of the Corn Spirit, or Vegetation Daemon, who is ritually killed at each harvest.

I. Military Lustration

Festus, even at the very place where he says that the sacrifice was performed *ob frugum eventum* and describes the crowning with loaves, confusedly tries to explain the use of a horse instead of the usual bullock for an agricultural sacrifice, with the statement that "a horse is suitable for war" (*bello . . . est aptus*). He thus echoes Polybius, who, even while he derides the Trojan-Horse theory of Timaeus, specifies that the victim is a war horse: ἵππος . . . πολεμιστής.¹³

This predisposition to a military interpretation, at least as old as the third century B.C., is shared by no less an authority than Georg Wissowa, whose systematic argument has won frequent approbation.¹⁴ One of its chief attractions is an appearance of seasonal symmetry. According to his scheme, the October Horse was run at the end of the season of military campaigns, as an expiatory sacrifice to cleanse the army of the taint of human blood and foreign contact. It fell on the third Ides before the end of the year and was followed at an interval of four days by the Armilustrum. Its position on the calendar corresponded to the Equirria, a horse race also on the Campus Martius,¹⁵ whose purpose was to mark the beginning of the campaign season. The Equirria was run at the third Ides from the beginning of the year and followed at a four-day interval by another lustration of arms at the Quinquatrus. (Actually, the only date given for the Equirria on the extant calendars is March 14, but Wissowa proposes that it was advanced to the otherwise unconscionable even-numbered day to avoid conflict with the Ides.) The lustrations of the arms both at the Quinquatrus and, apparently, the Armilustrum, were performed by the Salii.¹⁶

¹³ See Jacoby, *FHG* 566, vol. 3B, p. 612, with Commentary, vol. 3b, p. 328, for the suggestion that πολεμιστής is a deliberate substitution for ἀγωνιστής. S. Eitrem, *Beiträge zur griechischen Religionsgeschichte: II. Kathartisches und Rituelles* (Videnskapsselskapets Skrifter I, Hist.-filos. Klasse, 1917, Nr. 2, Kristiania, 1917) 28.

¹⁴ Wissowa, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* (Munich, 1904; repr. New York, 1975); id., *RuK*² 144 f; id., *RE* 2.1189, s.v. "Armilustrum"; *Neue Jahrbücher* 14 (1911) 324-327; Oskar Hentschel, *RE* 24.1154, s.v. "Quinquatrus."

¹⁵ Varro *LL* 6.13: *Ecurria ab equorum cursu; eo die enim ludis currunt in Martio Campo*; Tert. *De Spect.* 5; Paulus 71 L, s.v. "Equirria"; Ovid, *Fasti* 3.517-522.

¹⁶ Charisius, *Ars Grammatica* 1.81 (p. 102 Barwick): *Quinquatrus . . . a quinquando, id est lustrando, quod eo die arma ancilia lustrari sint solita*. The

There is undeniably a neatness to the scheme of two ceremonial horse races, both in honor of Mars, both on the Campus Martius, both equidistant from the two ends of the year, and both followed after an equal lapse of time by a lustration of arms and possibly of sacred trumpets.¹⁷ Yet, the problems raised by the considerations of symmetry are more numerous than the solutions that they provide. In the first place, symmetry of arrangement is, so far as is known, an unexampled reason for the place of any holiday on the calendar;¹⁸ and the symmetry itself proves to be illusory when it is realized that both races must have originated prior to 153 B.C. — that is, when the year began not in January but in March.

There are other doublets on the religious calendar more explicit than the one supposed to have been formed by the Equirria and the October Horse. There is, for example, another Tubilustrium in May. There is also another Equirria on February 27, also dedicated to Mars;¹⁹ and a more convincing case can be made for a correspondence between the two holidays called Equirria than for any between the Equirria and the October Horse. Although Ovid calls the March Equirria the "second" one,²⁰ it is really the first, if one reckons according to an archaic calendar whose New Year was in March. The February Equirria, then, coming on the last odd-numbered day of the month, is the year's last celebration in honor of Mars and, indeed, the end of the religious year. The Equirria in March, whether it was originally on the Ides or simply at some convenient day between the Nones and the Ides (holidays before the Nones are rare), is part of the celebrations which usher in the New Year.

Thus, while there could very well have been a roughly symmetrical cycle of holidays marked by equestrian exercises, the October Horse was not one of them.

There is, moreover, a better-than-negligible *argumentum ex silentio* against the military interpretation. It would be expected that at least

etymology is less reliable than the account of what was done, as in Ioannes Lydus, *De Mensibus* 4.55. Cf. Paulus 17 L: *Armilustrum . . . quo res divinas armati faciebant, ac, dum sacrificarent, tubis caneabant*, where the *armati* (again, an apparently forced etymology for *Armilustrum*) seem to be the Salii priests. Paulus seems mistakenly to be describing a tubilustrium (Wissowa *RE* 2.1189), possibly one conducted by the Salii four days after the Armilustrum, like the Tubilustrium which comes after the Quinquatrus: *De Mensibus* 4.60.

¹⁷ Cf. the preceding note.

¹⁸ Th. Mommsen, *CIL* I², p. 332, also doubts that the Equirria was moved to the even-numbered day before the Ides.

¹⁹ Ovid, *Fasti* 2.858: *Marsque citos iunctis curribus urget equos*.

²⁰ Ovid, *Fasti* 3.519: *altera gramineo spectabis Equirria Campo*.

one of the fairly circumstantial descriptions of the October Horse would have mentioned any special procedures of military lustration or contained some clear statement of the military purposes of the sacrifice, but both Polybius and Plutarch seem to be a little confused on this point. The only specific reason for the sacrifice given in antiquity is *ob frugum eventum*. If, then, the attribution to Mars is more than an inference from the place of sacrifice or the steed's traditional role, then the god promoting the success of *fruges* would have to be the old Italic agricultural god, not the Hellenized replica of Ares.

However, the famed Indo-Europeanist, Georges Dumézil, endeavoring to prove the kinship of the October Horse to a Vedic sacrifice, rallies a formidable battery of objections to an agricultural interpretation of the Roman sacrifice and, for that matter, to the very idea of an agricultural Mars.²¹ The chief ones are the following:

(1) Festus's *ob frugum eventum*, as Dumézil sees it, does not prove that either the sacrifice or Mars was meant to ensure fertility. Mars' contribution to the safety of the crop was to repel the enemy from the fields.²² *Ob frugum eventum* looks backward, to a benefit received, not forward; otherwise Festus could have written *frugum eventus causa* or *ut fruges eveniant*.²³ The sacrifice, in other words, was not a prayer for the grain about to be brought in, but thanksgiving to the god of war for having provided the protection which made the past year's bounty possible. In any event, had the object been to promote fertility, the celebrants would have adorned the Horse's head with seed or corn, not loaves.

(2) The sacrificing functionary used a spear, an implement of war, not the usual mallet and *securis*, or sacrificial axe.

(3) There is no direct evidence that the blood or other remains of the October Horse were used at the Parilia. Propertius's *curtus equus* need not have been a tailless horse but one ritually maimed in any one of countless other possible ways. The severed tail would not have yielded enough blood to be of any use the following spring. Therefore, it would appear that another horse was killed for the Parilia.

Dumézil's objections are not insurmountable.

²¹ Georges Dumézil, "Bellator Equos," in *Rituels indo-européens à Rome* (Études et commentaires 16, Paris, 1954) 73-91; id., *Réligion romaine*, 221 ff; id., *Fêtes romaines d'été et d'automne* (Éditions Gallimard, 1975), passim.

²² The same conclusion was independently reached by L. Deubner, *Nyb* 14 (1911) 331, and Inez Scott Ryberg, "The Significance of Mars in Early Roman Religion," *TAPA* 63 (1932) lxiii f.

²³ So also William Warde Fowler, *The Roman Festivals of the Republic* (London, 1925), 244.

(1) It would be natural for a reader used to Judeo-Christian patterns of worship to assume that an autumn agricultural holiday was the equivalent of the Jewish Succoth, the English Harvest Home, or the American Thanksgiving. Yet, Roman holidays looked forward, pragmatically, to produce a desired result, rather than back, in a Judeo-Christian spirit of gratitude. The principle of regularly scheduled celebrations was *do ut des*. After-the-fact thanks, when they were paid, were not regular items on the festival calendar but votive payments of particular contracts made between a man and a god (*votum solvit libens merito*). Thanksgiving celebrations had no fixed, recurring place on the calendar.

It is true that *ob frugum eventum*, so phrased, could mean that the celebrants were thinking of past benefits, but the preposition *ob* can also look forward to an anticipated result.²⁴ In any event, and more to the point, October was not the time of the Roman wheat harvest; it was the time when the next year's winter wheat was being planted.²⁵ Thus, the sacrifice looked forward to a harvest yet to grow and to be brought in.

The decoration of the Horse's head was obviously a kind of sympathetic magic. It is conceivable, as Dumézil urges, that some sort of unprocessed grain would be appropriate. But bread was, after all, the ultimate goal of agricultural abundance, and far from inconceivable as a fitting source of magic.

(2) Granted that the spear is an implement of war and an uncommon sacrificial tool, it was not the only one used on the Horse; for it was necessary, after all, to behead the victim. One would like to know more precisely how the weapon was handled. Did it only stop the victim in his tracks until he could be decapitated? Or did it finish him off? In the latter case, would there be a special value, or especially favorable omen, in dispatching him at the first cast? Polybius favors us only with the single word to describe the action: *κατακοντίζειν*, "to spear him down."

Martial implications aside, this unusual implement was the one most suitable for an unusual kind of victim.²⁶ Quite the opposite of the bul-

²⁴ Lewis and Short, s.v., II.A; Kühner-Stegmann³ 2.531.b.β.

²⁵ Annie Leigh Broughton, "The Menologia Rustica," *CPh* 31 (1936) 355 f, n.1.

²⁶ The human sacrifice to the Salaminian Agraulus was speared: Porph. *Abst.* 2.54; Euseb. *Laud. Const.* 13.646 (Migne *PG* 20.1401 f), *Praep. Evang.* 4.16.155 (*PG* 21.269 f). Wilhelm Mannhardt, *Mythologische Forschungen* (Quellen und Forschungen zur Sprach- und Kulturgeschichte der germanischen Völker 51, Strassburg and London, 1884) 169, cites the spearing of a goat in Ovid, *Amores* 3.13.21. The example does not apply; it is simply a competitive goat hunt (like the rural American turkey shoot), with the animal to be kept by the winner. The spearing of the bull at the taurobolium, Prud. *Perist.* 10.1027, seems to be a relic of the rite's origin as a bull hunt: Robert Duthoy, *The Taurobolium* (Leiden, 1969), 124 f.

lock, or some other ordinary *hostia non invita*, whose very tractability was a virtue, the October Horse was tested for its swiftness and valued for its high spirits. The usual sacrificial mallet would not only be an ignominious way to bring the victor in the race to his knees but could also conceivably diminish the value of the sacrifice.

The spear itself, it may be noted, is a repository of magical power.²⁷ It has a ritual importance in contexts where its martial use is all but forgotten, such as the setting up of the *hasta* for auctions and the use of the spear's head to part the hair of a bride.²⁸ If the spear used to fell the October Horse was not already charged with magic, it is easy to imagine that horse's blood would lend it power to be used on some other occasion.

(3) To be sure, there is no direct evidence that this particular horse was used to promote fertility or banish bad influences at the Parilia. However, inasmuch as the sacrifice of inedible victims was forever the exception, and the Romans abhorred horse's flesh,²⁹ it would be difficult to imagine, without additional evidence, that the Parilia was the occasion for killing a second unsavory victim.

It is sometimes carelessly inferred that the blood from the tail was to have been stored in the *penus Vestae* until the following spring.³⁰ But Dumézil is right when he says that this is a virtual impossibility: the tail yields very little blood, and that little would have congealed long before it could be so used. He is also right in saying that the only use of the blood of the tail was to smear the hearth of the Regia; Plutarch (*QR* 97) implies as much when he writes that *someone* (he does not name a particular priest) τὸν βωμὸν αἱμάττει.

Nevertheless, the blood of the tail is not the only blood shed by the Horse; and in the course of the decapitation and later disposal of the

²⁷ A possible source of the magic is its contact with human blood or the susceptibility of the head of iron (a new metal) to magnetism: M. Cary and A. D. Nock, "Magic Spears," *CQ* 21 (1927) 122-127; Andrew Alföldi, "Hasta — Summa Imperii," *AJA* 63 (1959) 1-27, especially pp. 18-25, on the *mana* of the spear.

²⁸ Paulus 55 L, s.v. "Caelibari hasta"; J. G. Frazer, *ad* Ovid, *Fasti* 2.559.

²⁹ Ziehen, *RE*, s.v. "Opfer," col. 588 f, 591; Tac. *Hist.* 4.60: *absumptis iumentis equisque et ceteris animalibus quae profana*; Ann. 2.24. For Greek abhorrence, cf. Porph. *Abst.* 1.14, Arrian *Anab.* 6.25.1. Equine sacrificial meat in Hellenistic Asia Minor: Petra Wolff, "Das Tieropfer am Artemisaltar von Ephesos: I. Die Tierreste," *Studien zur Religion und Kultur Kleinasien: Festschr. f. Friedrich Karl Dörner* (Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire Romain 66.1 [Leiden, 1978]), 107-115; Trojan and Hittite examples: George Hanfmann, *HSCP* 63 (1958) 76-79.

³⁰ J. G. Frazer, *ad* Ovid, *Fasti* 4.731; Fowler, *Fest.* 243; but cf. Fowler, *Fest.* 83, cited in the note immediately following.

carcass, there naturally had to be a copious supply for later ritual purposes.³¹

II. *Aśvamedha*

When Dumézil attempts to divest Mars and the sacrifice of their importance for fertility, or to divorce the October Horse from the Parilia, or to deduce, from the use of the spear in particular, a military significance for the ritual, he is setting the stage for a startling but seductive thesis: that the sacrifice of the October Horse is the Roman equivalent of the Vedic *aśvamedha*, and that both rituals have the same Indo-European ancestry.³²

The similarities are certainly striking. The head of the Vedic horse is reserved for the king; in the Roman ritual there is the battle to decide whether or not the October Horse's head will be assigned to the King's house. Both customs point up a common motif: the head as an omen or talisman with royal or productive power.³³ (If the point were to be pressed further, nailing the two mutineers' heads to the Regia in 46 B.C. would have religious importance as one of the devices whereby Caesar pressed his notorious pretensions to royalty.)

There is also some importance assigned to the tail in the Vedic ceremony. The priest and sacrificer hold it, as if the horse were to guide them to heaven. While the head signifies spiritual energy, and the middle part physical force, the tail is said to stand for a prosperous yield of livestock.

In both ceremonies the animal is selected with an eye to its energy and speed, qualities sought elsewhere in sacrificial horses.³⁴

³¹ Fowler, *Fest.* 83: "the blood which streamed from the head of the horse."

³² Dumézil, "Bellator Equos," *Réligion romaine*, and *REL* 41:87-89 (see n.9, above); id., "Quaestiunculae indo-italicae 3: Le Cheval d'Octobre, bigarum victricum dexterior," *REL* 36 (1958) 130 f. The comparison had been suggested earlier, e.g., by Carl Clemen, *RhM* n.f. 79 (1930) 335. For Celtic parallels, see Jaan Puhvel, "Vedic *aśvamedha* and Gaulish *IIPOMIIDVOS*," *Language* 31 (1955) 353 f.

³³ Eugene S. McCartney, "The Omen of the Buried Horse's Head in Vergil's *Aeneid*," *CJ* 22 (1927) 674-676; Richard B. Onians, *The Origins of European Thought* (Cambridge, 1951) 125-127; P(aul)-É(mile) Dumont, *L'aśvamedha: description du sacrifice solennel du cheval dans le culte védique* (Société belge d'études orientales, Paris and Louvain, 1927) x; Wilhelm Koppers, "Pferdeopfer und Pferdekult der Indogermanen," *Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik* 4 (1936) 311.

³⁴ Cf. Ovid, *Fasti* 1.385 f:

Placat equo Persis radiis Hyperiona cinctum
ne detur celeri victima tarda deo;

Hdt. 1.216.4. But at Xen. *Anab.* 4.5.35, a horse is sacrificed when it is on the verge of expiring from old age, apparently a kind of euthanasia rather than a sacrifice, the given reason being that it was not right for the animal sacred to the Sun ignominiously to die of natural causes.

Persuasive as the similarities may be at first sight, they are superficial. In primitive societies sacrifices necessarily involved the king; he was their intermediary with the gods. It is not surprising that two different cultures which happened to have chosen the same kind of sacrificial beast are likely to have similar standards for its fitness. As for the partition of the victim, all that has been proved is that the Romans and the Indians both recognized that the horse had a front and a rear.

The differences are more significant.

Had one sacrifice been modeled on the other or from a common archetype, they would be expected to occupy similar places on the calendar, according to whether they celebrate sowing or harvest, equinox or solstice. In this case the date of the October Horse is fixed, but the *aśvamedha* is movable and at a time far different from that of its supposed Roman counterpart: it is either in spring or summer.³⁵

The Indian horse was chosen a year before its sacrifice, not, apparently, by means of a race and certainly not on the day of its slaughter.

At the end of the *aśvamedha* the victim was cooked and eaten.³⁶ Had the Romans, for once, overcome their distaste for horse flesh, it surely would have been mentioned in at least one of the extant descriptions of the October Horse.

The Vedic ceremony is by far the more elaborate of the two.³⁷ Before the sacrifice, the victim is anointed and decorated by the king's wives as they apologize for its impending death.³⁸ Afterward, the number-one wife takes the horse's phallus into her lap to simulate copulation, to the accompaniment of ribald shouts by the other wives and the priests.³⁹ (This indecorous custom has been likened to the account of the Celtic coronation at Ulster. The high point of the ceremony was said to be the sexual union of the king with a white mare, but the gullible chronicler has passed along even taller tales.)⁴⁰

³⁵ The long preparatory ceremony begins in February/March: Dumont (above, n.33), ii.

³⁶ Dumont (above, n.33), 195, cooking of the flesh; 185, 199 f, 342, disposal of the blood.

³⁷ *Satapatha-Brahmana* 13.1.9.9, 13.2.2.1-13, 13.2.6.6-8, 13.2.8.4, 13.4.1.2-3; Carl Clemen, "Die Tötung des Vegetationsgeistes in der römischen Religion," *RhM* n.f. 79 (1930) 335; K. Geldner, in James Hastings (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* (Edinburgh and New York, 1908-26) 2.160 f.

³⁸ Dumont (above, n.33), 330; apologies to the horse: 164-173. Cf. apologies to a tree about to be felled for the rajah's coffin, on the island of Timor: H. Wagenvoort, *Roman Dynamism* (Oxford, 1947), 81, n.4.

³⁹ Dumont (above, n.33), 178-181, 337 f.

⁴⁰ Franz Rolf Schröder, "Ein altirischer Krönungsritus und das indogermanische Rossopfer," *Zeitschr. f. celt. Philologie* 16 (1927) 310-312, commenting on Giraldus Cambrensis, *Topographica Hibernica* III, cap. XXV, in his *Opera*

Unlike the October Horse, the Indian horse is strangled.⁴¹ The Romans' use of the spear is a radical difference, which it is a mistake to dismiss as no more than a stylistic variation.⁴² Unlike the summary stabbing and dismemberment of the October Horse, the *aśvamedha*, after the elaborate preparatory rites and blandishments lavished on the victim, culminates with the familiar fiction of a bloodless, and technically pollution-free, execution, much like the execution of a human.

The avoidance of overt bloodletting may remind some readers of an "Unschuldskomödie," that is, a "Comedy of Innocence" wherein primitive hunting societies absolved themselves of the guilt and possible consequences of the deaths of the animals which they killed for their own sustenance⁴³ — for example, the mock trial of the sacrificial knife used in the Athenian Buphonia.⁴⁴ But the pretense of innocence is far from universal in the sacrificial ceremonies of classical peoples,⁴⁵ least of all in the brutal sacrifice of the October Horse. Nor does it quite fit the *aśvamedha*. Although there is an extravagant display of contrition for the impending bloodless execution, the horse is accompanied by 609 other victims of various species, for whom there seems to have been no

(*Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores* 21:5, London, 1867) 169. "White mare" is the rendition of *iumentum candidum* by Schröder and the bowdlerizing Thomas Wright, *The Historical Works of Giraldus Cambrensis* (London and New York, 1887), 138.

⁴¹ By means of cloths steeped in butter: Dumont (above, n.33), 275, 335. Cf. the Navaho's smothering of the sacred deer: W. W. Hill, *The Agricultural and Hunting Methods of the Navaho* (Yale Univ. Pubs. in Anthro. 18, New Haven, 1938) 132 f.

⁴² A "minor difference," according to Dumézil, *Fêtes*, 149. The only suggestion that the October Horse itself was strangled comes from Udo W. Scholz, *Studien zum altitalischen und altrömischen Marskult und Marsmythos* (Bibliothek der klassischen Altertumswissenschaften, n.f. 2, Bd. 35, Heidelberg, 1970) 94 f, 118–122. His linguistic argument that the head was not garlanded with loaves but swathed, or suffocated, with cloths (i.e., *panibus* = *pannis*) is universally rejected: H. S. Versnel, *Gymnasium* 79 (1972) 163; R. M. Ogilvie, *CR* 23 (1973) 75; Dumézil, *Fêtes*.

⁴³ Walter Burkert, "Greek Tragedy and Sacrificial Ritual," *GRBS* 7 (1966) 87–121, esp. 105 ad fn.; id., *Homo Necans*, 25, 48 and n.16, 248, 267; Karl Meuli, "Griechische Opferbräuche," *Phyllobolia für Peter Von Der Mühl* (Basel, 1946) 185–288; id., "Der Ursprung der Olymp. Spiele," *Antike* 17 (1944) 187–208.

⁴⁴ Porph. *Abst.* 2.29.30; Paus. 1.24.4.

⁴⁵ Burkert and Meuli take the *ololyge* raised by women in Homeric sacrifice to be a lament for the victim. It is, however, more often a shout of triumph or exultation, the howl of orgiastic cults, or even a cry with magical force: LSJ, s.vv. *ὀλολυγή*, *ὀλολύζω* Ludwig Deubner, "Ololyge und Verwandtes," *Abhandl. der Preuss. Akad. der Wiss.*, 1941, Nr. 1, Philos.-hist. Klasse.

special consideration.⁴⁶ The attendant victims, the festooning of the horse with jewels, and the noisy enactment of a sham copulation do not betoken the hunters' reluctant, anxious butchering of a part of their precarious food supply but a celebration whose beneficent "star" had a daemonic personality all its own. At the farthest remove from the star attraction at the *asvamedha* is the October Horse: the quickly dispatched offering to a god and the raw material for some later ceremony.

III. Corn Spirit

Greek mythology, which is no more than barely useful for explaining Roman religious practices, is a starting point for the inevitable chthonian explanations of the choice of a horse, among them, as might be expected, the connection between the horse and Mother Earth and Earth-Shaking Poseidon.⁴⁷ Although the mingling of horse's blood with the ashes of the Fordicidia does justify some cautious chthonian inferences, the failure of the ancient authorities to mention a Ceres-Demeter or Neptune-Poseidon argues against such after-the-fact mythological etiology. The only divine participants in the October rite and its springtime sequel are, so far as is known or surmised, Mars, Vesta, and the obscure Pales.

A most elaborate and, thanks to its promulgation by J. G. Frazer, influential attempt to define the place of the October Horse in the agricultural religion of Rome has been that of Wilhelm Mannhardt. His theory is that the horse, like other animals which are paraded or slain in rural pageants, is the theriomorphic embodiment of a Corn Spirit or Vegetation Daemon.⁴⁸ He and his followers cite examples of horses' skulls thrown into May fires and midsummer St. John's fires, or hung from fir trees and lovers' doors, and the uses of horse bones or other parts of the horse, cat, hen, or any other domestic animal at planting, harvest, Whitsuntide, Shrove Tuesday, or any other important date on the religious or agricultural calendar.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Dumont (above, n.33), 137-146.

⁴⁷ Franz Altheim, *Terra Mater: Untersuchungen zur altitalischen Religionsgeschichte* (Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten 22, Giessen, 1930) 121 f, 160 f.

⁴⁸ *Myth.Forsch.*, ch. 4, "Das Octoberross," 156-201; id., *Wald- und Feldkulte* (Berlin, 1875), 178, 185, 383, 411, 515; J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, pt. 5, vol. 2, pp. 42-44, 337-339; Carl Clemen, "Tötung" (above, n.37), 333-342; Onians, (above, n.33): the Horse identified as a theriomorphic Mars; cf. the centaur-like Ausonian Mares, Aelian *VarHist* 9.16, similar to a name mentioned by Athen. 11.498b = Hes. fr. 165 Rz³ (271 Merkelbach-West; Wilamowitz conj.: *Mápis*).

⁴⁹ For the ornamental use of horses' and other animals' heads on gables, cf. N. W. Thomas, *Folklore* 11 (1900) 322, 437.

While it may be right to object that such customs are only latter-day survivals, and for the most part in regions with a Germanic or Celtic background, the anthropological data do provide startling reminders of the October ritual, as, for example, when the French harvesters nickname the final sheaf of grain the "horse's tail."⁵⁰

Superficial similarity, however, does not prove that the October Horse was a representative of the harvest spirit or the dying spirit of vegetation, nor that "horse's tail" is anything more than casual slang.⁵¹ Nor is it safe to assume that every equestrian circuit of the newly plowed fields was related to the October race of the *bigae*, nor that holding the tail over the altar in the Regia has a counterpart in the transparent symbolism of presenting a pig's tail to the discomfited bride at a Bavarian wedding feast,⁵² nor that every animal which was ceremonially killed, dismembered, or simply displayed at a holiday represented the nascent or dying Spirit of Vegetation. In fact, Corn-Spirit theories are encumbered by an *embarras de richesses*, for it would seem that every important moment in the year of the farmer and religious celebrant was celebrated somewhere by the use of almost every conceivable animal — including the horse — or its sundry parts, and of quite a variety of inanimate objects.⁵³ Neither the Corn Spirit nor any other single theory is adequate to explain all the possible ceremonial objects.

C. COMPONENTS OF THE RITE

In its totality, the ceremony must have been built up over the generations. Although the multiplicity of the succeeding layers is easier to discern than their chronological order,⁵⁴ each element and step of the ceremony taken singly makes some kind of independent sense.

I. The Date

The running of the October Horse is not marked by a capital-letter entry in the ancient Calendar of Numa. The lack does not necessarily

⁵⁰ Clemen (above, n.37), 337.

⁵¹ My own childhood, albeit urban, provides an illustrative anthropological datum. During our long walks, conducted by a babysitter, to a distant park, the habitual laggard (my brother) was called "the cow's tail."

⁵² Mannhardt, *Myth.Forsch.*, 186, n.1.

⁵³ The criticisms of Frazer's anthropological approach are applicable to his German predecessor; e.g., A. Berriedale Keith, *JHS* 35 (1915) 181-184; Ch. Guignebert, *RH* 130 (1919) 133: "A l'objection — qu'il prévoit évidemment — sur la *qualité* des ses inductions et déductions, M. Frazer répond par la *quantité*."

⁵⁴ Jean Bayet, *Histoire politique et psychologique de la religion romaine* (Paris, 1957) 82 f.

prove that it does not belong to a very old, pre-Republican stratum of religion, for there are some ancient holidays which, because they coincide with the Ides, do not appear on the oldest calendars.⁵⁵ Yet even with this concession, it is doubtful that the October Horse enjoyed very much seniority among Roman sacrifices. It, unlike other celebrations which fall on the Ides, is not found in the *additamenta* of inscribed calendars subsequent to the hypothetical Calendar of Numa.⁵⁶ The earliest calendar entry is the meager *equus fit* in the manuscript of the fourth-century *Fasti* of Philocalus.⁵⁷

II. The Horse

There is evidence for the sacrifice of horses in Europe as far back as the neolithic era.⁵⁸ In historical times, the best-known horse sacrifices were made by the Persians to the Sun.⁵⁹ Persians and Greeks were known to cast teams whole into the sea as offerings to Poseidon or his equivalent, or to have substituted horses for other victims as *διαβατήρια*, to ensure safe river crossing.⁶⁰ Horses were said to have been sacrificed as a prelude to battle⁶¹ and at regular occasions at heroes' tombs.⁶²

Aside from its having occurred in the general neighborhood of the Tiber, the October ritual bears no similarity to any of the other sacrifices at bodies of water, let alone those on the battlefield or at tombs.

Although **ekwos* appears quite early in the history of the Indo-

⁵⁵ Agnes Kirsopp Michels, *The Calendar of the Roman Republic* (Princeton, 1967) 79 f; *CIL* I², p. 332, on *Id. Oct.*

⁵⁶ Some old holidays which appear among the small-lettered *additamenta* on the Ides are Nov., *epuli indictio*, in the *Fasti Maffeiani*; June, *Feriae Iovi*; May, *Feriae Iovi, Mercurio, Maiae*, in the *Fasti Venusini*; Sept., [*Iovi*] *epul[um]*, in the *Fasti Sabini*.

⁵⁷ *CIL* I², p. 274.

⁵⁸ Johannes Maringer, *Germania* 52 (1974) 313: neolithic victims slain with flint daggers.

⁵⁹ Hdt. 1.216.4; Ovid, *Fasti* 1.385; Philostratus, *Vita Apoll.* 1.31; Strabo 11.8.6, p. 513; Paus. 3.20.4; sanctity of living horses to the Sun: Xen. *Anab.* 4.5.35; II Kings 23:11. A most complete catalog of horses in mythology, literature, and sacrifice is by Carl Newell Jackson, *Quas Partes Equi Habebant in Religionibus Graecorum* (unpublished diss., Harvard, 1901).

⁶⁰ Hdt. 7.113; Polyb. 23.10.17; Homer *Il.* 21.130-132 (Achilles' taunt to the Trojans); Eustath. *ad Il.* 21.131, 23.148; Tac. *Ann.* 6.37.102; App. *Mith.* 70 ad init.; Paus. 8.72, with note by J. G. Frazer (Russian and Chinese parallels); Festus 190.28 L: Rhodian sacrifice, said to be to the Sun, but thrown into the sea.

⁶¹ Polyb. 12.4b; Livy *Epit.* 49.

⁶² Arrian *Anab.* 6.29.7 (Cyrus); Strabo 5.1.9 (Diomedes); Lucian, *Scythes* 2.861 (Toxaris).

Europeans, the horse has no place in the earliest stratum of Roman religion. It is actually tabu, for example, in the case of the Flamen Dialis, for reasons which may have less to do with magic than simple archaism.⁶³ Most of the technical vocabulary of horsemanship and the words for horse-drawn vehicles are not Latin.⁶⁴ (It is possible that conservatism also dictated the exclusion of horses from the grove of Diana at Nemi.)⁶⁵ The horse was not an important agricultural animal in classical Rome.⁶⁶ Not being a normal part of either the Greeks' nor the Romans' regular diet, it was not ordinarily suitable for sacrifice.⁶⁷

The slaughter of the even less edible dog at the Lupercalia and Robigalia provides the exception which can very well prove the rule. Whereas the blood of the October Horse increases fertility where it is applied, the blood and entrails of dogs were useful for an opposite reason: apotropaic "bad medicine," to protect the corn from rust and the walls of the city from wolves or other malign influences.⁶⁸

The *curtus equus* mentioned by Propertius seems not to have been an original feature of the Parilia; so much is implied by *nunc curto lustra novantur equo* in his brief mention. Although the horse's blood and the ashes from the Fordicidia, contributing to a fumigant, were not actually sacrifices at the Parilia, the testimony of Plutarch (*Rom.* 12), that the Parilia was originally celebrated with bloodless sacrifices, gives rise to the suspicion that these were not original elements in the celebration.

The preliminary horse race, by all plausible reckoning, cannot be older than a sixth-century importation from Magna Graecia.⁶⁹

⁶³ Walter Pötscher, *Mnemosyne* ser. 4, vol. 21 (1968), p. 218 f; Festus 71 L; Gellius 10.15.3 f; Serv. *Aen.* 8.552; Plut. *QR* 40. Pliny, *NH* 18.9.40.146, gives a spurious reason. The horse seems also to have been forbidden to the Dictator, except after passage of special legislation: Livy 23.14.2; Plut. *Fab.* 4. Mannhardt, *Myth.Forsch.*, 168, concedes that the Horse could be an imported sacrifice, but, 192 ff, he nevertheless places it among the earliest of Roman customs.

⁶⁴ Joshua Whatmough, *The Foundations of Roman Italy* (London, 1937) 156.

⁶⁵ Aurelio Bernardi, *Athenaeum* 31 (1953) 278; Verg. *Aen.* 7.779.

⁶⁶ J. K. Anderson, *OCD*, s.v. "Horses." The only regular agricultural function for horses was treading grain on the threshing floor, Columella 2.20.4, or breeding mules.

⁶⁷ Ziehen, *RE*, s.v. "Opfer" 588 f, 591; Tac. *Hist.* 4.60. By way of contrast: at the Zoroastrian horse sacrifice among the Parsees, the flesh is eaten by both priests and worshipers: Henry Clay Trumbull, *The Blood Covenant: A Primitive Rite and its Bearings on Scripture* (New York, 1885), 169; so also at the *aśvamedha*.

⁶⁸ Kurt Latte, *Röm.Rel.Gesch.* 67 f, 379. Cf. Ateius Capito ap. Festus 358 L: *pro frugibus deprecandae saevitiae causa sideris caniculae*.

⁶⁹ Albert Grenier, *The Roman Spirit in Religion, Thought, and Art*, trans. M. R. Dobie (C. K. Ogden, ed., *The History of Civilization*, New York, 1926) 100 f.

If it were to turn out that some other animal had originally been sacrificed on the Ides of October, the substitution of the Horse or the addition of its blood to some other religious objects need cause no great surprise. Although we have been taught to expect scrupulous, step-by-step adherence to procedure in the grand official rituals, there are examples of improvisation and latitude in the choice of a cheaper or, *mutatis mutandis*, more impressive victim, especially in peripheral ceremonies that found no place in the official *Fasti*. At the coming of spring, for example, Horace enjoins honors to Faunus, with the sacrifice either of a lamb or a kid (C. 1.4.11 f). To Tibullus, the sign of decline in a farm's prosperity is the substitution of a lamb for a heifer (1.1.21-22). Other religions provide ready examples of the substitution of victims.⁷⁰

III. The Blood

At the center of the Roman ceremony, and distinguishing it from those with which it is often compared, is the unusual manner of anointing the royal hearth with the Horse's blood. The hypothesis that a second horse was slaughtered for the Parilia is unnecessary, for there was abundant blood in the remainder of the carcass.⁷¹ Nor, by the same token, is there need of the more recent, ingenious theory that the celebrants amputated not the tail but a member which would yield more blood — namely, the penis.⁷²

If the ancient descriptions do not tell what was done with the rest of the horse after the removal of head and tail, that is hardly surprising. Such accounts as we have, after all, are not drawn from complete handbooks of ritual but from brief, ad-hoc notices of certain peculiar

⁷⁰ E.g., replacement of the taurobolium by the cheaper criobolium; Jewish approximation of the scapegoat in East Europe, by lambasting the *kapparah*, a hen or cock: Kaufmann Kohler, *The Jewish Encyclopedia* VII (New York, 1904) 435 f.

⁷¹ Wilhelm Mannhardt, *Der Baumkultus der Germanen und ihrer Nachbarstämme* (Berlin, 1875) 402 ff, describes the St. Stephen's Ride of December 26, which ends with drawing blood from the horse's veins for later therapeutic purposes. Eitrem, *Beiträge* (above, n.13), 20.

⁷² George Devereux, "The Equus October Ritual Reconsidered," *Mnemosyne* ser. 4, vol. 23 (1970), pp. 297-301, offers interesting physiological information about the relative supply of blood provided by the tail and penis, respectively, with the conclusion that the penis was carried to the Regia. The force of the argument is weakened by the empirical proof obtained by Dumézil, *Fêtes*, 185-187, that the tail could be amputated, carried the necessary distance, and still yield enough blood to stain the altar.

features of the rite. The disposal of those parts of the victim not used in the more remarkable stages of the sacrifice would be ordinary routine, just as commonly known and seldom mentioned as the mundane aftermath of a modern bullfight (distribution of the meat to the poor).

In the case of the Roman sacrifice, since the horse is not commonly edible, it is reasonable to assume that it was ultimately consumed in a holocaust.⁷³ The ashes could have been thrown into the Tiber, if other known horse sacrifices or, for that matter, the legends about the consecration of the Campus Martius are precedents; or they could have been mixed into the *suffimen* of the Parilia.⁷⁴ The six-month preservation of blood and ashes for religious purposes is no more remarkable than the modern custom of pickling and saving for the following spring part of the calf or goat killed at the end of the harvest.⁷⁵

The important element is the Horse's blood. The "good medicine" contained therein is something common to Roman religion and all other primitive religions, in both the magico-religious and the narrowly therapeutic sense (as, for example, the curative powers of a spear or any weapon wet with human blood).⁷⁶ It is the Old-Testament "life of the flesh," or *nefesh*, Latin *anima*, and Greek *psyche*.⁷⁷ Some such power has been recognized in the Melanesian *mana* (the common modern label), in the American-Indian *orenda*, and, by classical scholars, in *numen*, whose popular etymology is the divine "nod" but may ultimately be akin to an Indo-European verb "to move." Although there has been some scholarly opposition to the use of *numen* as an all-inclusive explanation of pre-deistic religion, the concept has been useful for understanding both some primitive and some ostensibly more sophisticated

⁷³ Mannhardt, *Myth.Forsch.*, 158 f.

⁷⁴ Prop. 4.1.19 f (*lustra novantur equo*) mentions the horse, not its blood.

⁷⁵ Clemen (above, n.37), 336; Hubbell (below, n.91), 186; Frazer, *Golden Bough* 2.9, 20.

⁷⁶ Pliny NH 28.6.33-34; Festus 55 L, s.v. "Caelibari Hasta." The insistence by Dumézil, *Fêtes*, 188-203, that blood is valuable only as a "corrosive" remover of impurities utilizes only a small fraction of the evidence available.

⁷⁷ Leviticus 16:19, 16:33 et al.; Trumbull, *The Blood Covenant*; Franz Rüsche, *Blut, Leben und Seele: Ihr Verhältnis nach Auffassung der griechischen und hellenistischen Antike, der Bibel, und der alexandrinischen Theologen* (Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums, Ergänzungsband 5, Paderborn, 1930), a painstaking and internally consistent philological systematization of the concept in mythology and ancient medical literature. For the insufficiency of "the blood is the life" to explain Greek and Roman sacrifice, see A. D. Nock, *HTR* 37 (1944) 161, 170 = *Essays* 592 f, 599. For the identification of blood as *psyche*, cf. Critias ap. Aristotle, *De Anima* 1.2, 405b; Empedocles fr. 10 (D): αἷμα γὰρ ἀνθρώποις περικάρδιόν ἐστι νόημα. Hermann Diels, *Doxographi Graeci*² (Berlin and Leipzig, 1929), 214, 389.

practices.⁷⁸ It can be compared to electrical energy as perceived by the layman: both useful and dangerous, its behavior and application more easily understood than its precise nature. *Numen* resides in certain things and places: doorposts and thresholds, hearths, boundary stones, betyls, and altars. The power can be reinforced or transferred to persons, things, and even gods — recharging a battery may be a useful comparison — by means of the application of certain potent materials: to cite a few, oil, wine, sacrificial fat or smoke, and, of course, blood. The power-reinforcing principle of many primitive sacrifices has been recognized even by scholars who have not adopted such stylish terms as *mana* or *numen*, and it shows through in such ancient locutions as *aram augere*, ἔμπυρα αὖξιν, and *macte hoc vino* or *suovetaurilibus*.⁷⁹ The use of blood to instill *numen* into a thing is illustrated by the establishment and annual renewal of *Terminus*, the boundary marker⁸⁰ — not an anthropomorphic god, but important for territorial and social stability — and in libations onto the hearth, which has come just short of an anthropomorphic personality as the goddess *Vesta*. The transfer of numinous power to persons has its example in the drinking of blood by seers in order to get oracular vision.⁸¹

The October Horse, whatever other importance he may have had, is a source of such powerful, numinous stuff. The blood added to the April fires recharges the *numen* of the people and animals coming into contact with the smoke, if not to increase their fertility, then to fortify their resistance to the diseases and hazards of the coming growing season. The hearth or altar at the *Regia* (*focus* in *Festus*, βωμός in *Plutarch*) is an important recipient of the *numen* of the blood.⁸²

⁷⁸ H. Wagenvoort, *Roman Dynamism: Studies in Ancient Roman Thought, Language and Custom* (Oxford, 1947); H. J. Rose, "Numen and Mana," *HTR* 44 (1951) 109–120; the seminal discussion of the theory: R. R. Marett, "Pre-animistic Religion," *Folklore* 11 (1900) 162–182.

⁷⁹ W. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites* 408, 431 ff; Latte, *RE*, s.v. "Immolatio" 1113; Plautus *Merc.* 676 (laurel for the altar of Apollo); Pindar *Isth.* 3.62 f; Eurip. *Hipp.* 537; Cato *Agr.* 131, 134, 139, 141; Serv. *Aen.* 9.641 (gloss on *macte*); William Warde Fowler, *The Religious Experience of the Roman People* (London, 1911), 183–185.

⁸⁰ Siculus Flaccus, *De Conditionibus Agrorum*, in F. Blume, F. Lachmann, and A. Rudorff, *Die Schriften der römischen Feldmesser I* (Berlin, 1848; repr. Hildesheim, 1967), 141; Ovid, *Fasti* 2.655: *spargitur et caeso communis Terminus agno*; H. J. Rose, *HTR* 44 (1951) 115–117.

⁸¹ Pliny *NH* 28.9.41.147; Paus. 2.24.1. The most famous example is, of course, *Tiresias*, in the Homeric *Nekyia*.

⁸² On blood contact, see Wagenvoort, *Roman Dynamism*, 45, n.4; 148, n.1. For the idea of bloodying altars in antiquity, cf. S. Eitrem, *Opferritus und Voropfer der Griechen und Römer* (Videnskapsselskapets Skrifter II, Hist.-phil. Klasse,

The numinous value of the blood is in that borderland where religion and magic are contiguous and even overlap. It also lends some sense to the running, racing, and battling which attend the sacrifice of the Horse. The traditional interpretation of the need for the race of the two-horse teams would be that the fastest horse would be the gift most fitting to the anthropomorphic god, usually the Sun.⁸³ But to put it in more elemental terms, the horse with the greatest physical strength would also carry the strongest charge of *numen*.⁸⁴ To stop him in mid-career, drawing the first drops of blood with a weapon which perhaps itself was loaded with magical force, would be to catch the *numen* at its highest pitch.

IV. The Head and the Mamilii

The regal associations of the horse's head in the *ásvamedha* suggest (but do not assure) a meaning for one event in the ceremony of the October Horse. The battle for the head is fought, after all, to see whether it will reside on the Tower of the Mamilii or the King's house. This has been explained as a sham battle to set the stronghold of the Mamilii on equal terms with the royal residence,⁸⁵ but it could well be the residue of serious claims by the Mamilii to royal prerogatives.

We don't know where the Mamilian tower was, although there is epigraphical assurance that it did exist.⁸⁶ We do know something about the family of the Mamilii, who are reputed to have given the tower its name,⁸⁷ and who in historical times still retained a reminder of the

1914, Christiania Dybwad, 1915) 430; Porph. *Abst.* 2.36; Ps.-Menander, in Spengel *RhGr* 3.419.31; Pollux *Onom.* 1.27; Schol. *Od.* 3.44 (Dindorff I.163): αἶμα . . . τοῖς βωμοῖς ἐπιχέουσιν. Eitrem correctly perceives that the bloodying of the *focus* with the Horse's tail is typical of domestic cultus; cf. also Eitrem, *Opferritus*, p. 177, on the Greek *peristia*.

⁸³ One of the tentative explanations of the October Horse at Plut. *QR* 97. Cf. Ovid, *Fasti* 1.385 f.

⁸⁴ There may be an analogy in the test of physical strength for the selection of the rex Nemorensis. For a utilitarian explanation of the selection of the king by combat, cf. C. B. Pascal, *Numen* 23 (1976) 23-29.

⁸⁵ Franz Altheim, *A History of Roman Religion*, trans. Harold Mattingly (London, 1938), 68, 147.

⁸⁶ *CIL* 6.33837 (*ILS* 7242).

⁸⁷ Festus 116, 117 L, s.vv. "Mamiliorum," "Mamilia turris"; Vincenzo De Vit, *Onomasticon Totius Latinitatis*, s.v. "Mamilius"; Livy 1.49.9 (with note by Ogilvie), 2.18.1-4, 2.19.6-9, 3.18.1, 3.19.8; Dionysius of Halicarnassus 4.45, 5.50, 5.61, 1.13, 6.4, 6.11; Valerius Maximus 1.3.1; Auct. incert. *De Viris Illustribus* 16.

turris Mamilia in the cognomen *Turrinus*.⁸⁸ The clan comes from Tusculum, traces mythical origins to Telegonus and Circe, and recalls a connection by marriage to the Tarquins. Octavius, who was killed in the service of Tarquin the Proud at Lake Regillus, had, because of his pre-eminence among the Latins, been chosen as his son-in-law. He had earlier given his father-in-law refuge after his expulsion from Rome and had proved to be adept, either by reason of his powers of persuasion or his inherited prestige, at correcting Tarquin's diplomatic gaffes among the Latin allies.

When, therefore, the Mamilii or latter-day partisans strive to capture the head of the October Horse, there seems to have been a historical basis to their claim to this emblem of royalty. The family was foremost among Rome's Latin neighbors, both during and after the regal period, and at Rome could boast a royal prestige matching that of the Tarquins, yet without suffering the odium that adhered to the name of Tarquin. For during the subsequent history of the City they had rendered conspicuous service to the Republic. It was a Lucius Mamilius from their home base at Tusculum, for instance, who in 458 B.C. was credited with having rescued the Capitolium from the Aequi and Volsci.⁸⁹

Why the battle-royal of the Mamilii was set precisely on the Ides of October is likely never to be known. Yet, thanks to the affection to which they legitimately laid claim, the annual renewal of their claim to the benefit of the sacrifice of the Horse would incur no undue rancor.

If the head were nothing more than a royal emblem, it would be hard to justify its importance to a sacrifice which was performed *ob frugum eventum*. However, a broader significance can be surmised.

Heads of sacrificial animals (frequently accompanied by feet), boucrania on Greco-Roman altars, heads in folklore, head-hunting among primitive tribes, and the head cropping up in oaths, curses, and other casual contexts — I swear by my children's heads! *vae capiti tuo!* — all furnish ample and frequently utilized material for theories about the magico-religious importance of the head.⁹⁰ Yet even without recourse to these, and without the benefit of the growth of anatomical knowledge which isolates the function of the brain, the head is an easily identifiable

⁸⁸ Livy 28.10.3, 8; *Fasti Capitolini* for 239 B.C., *CIL* I², p. 24 (*Insc.It.* 13:1, p. 42 f). A. Degrassi, *Insc.It.*, loc. cit., suggests a comparison with *Thurinus*, the name given to Augustus, from the place name *Thurii*: Suet. *Aug.* 7.

⁸⁹ To regard the Mamilii only as traditional enemies of Rome, as does Dumézil, *Fêtes*, 14–56, seems to be an improper emphasis, attaching as it does an excessively high hazard to the battle for the head. A victory of the "enemy" would be an omen as inconceivably bad as if Guy Fawkes were to escape the bonfire.

⁹⁰ S. Eitrem, *Beiträge* (above, n.13), 34–49; Onians, *Origins* (above, n.33).

part for the whole, so that whoever won it would be a beneficiary of the sacrifice of the whole animal and would be, like the King, that year's representative of the City.

Roman mythology also mentions the horse's head as an omen of fertility.⁹¹ With fertility medicine residing in the loaf-crowned head of the October Horse, its possession would replicate or supplement the effect already produced by bloodying the hearth with the severed tail. But in a ceremony which seems to have grown in stages, such redundancy is quite possible.

V. The Tail

The tail — *tanta celeritate perfertur in regiam, ut ex ea sanguis destillet in focum* — reinforces the *numen* already inherent in the King's hearth. It is perhaps stretching a point to assume that the physical effort of the sprint from the Campus Martius is in itself meant to load the tail with additional *numen*.⁹² It could be, rather, that the purpose is to solicit the favorable omen of the most ample yield possible, under deliberately difficult conditions.

It has been argued that tails contain a special kind of fructifying or magical power.⁹³ The most impressive argument is the more than three-dozen extant Mithraic tauroctonus reliefs where the tail of the bull sprouts from one to seven ears of grain.⁹⁴ Whatever may be the myth that these sculptures represent, the tip of the tail is not the only source of magically produced cereal. In one relief, the grain protrudes not from the tail but from a wound in the bull's flank.⁹⁵

Less compelling arguments for the unique powers of the tail are the mention of tail-grasping in the *asvamedha* and depictions of tail-grasping attendants on Greek equestrian tomb reliefs. In such cases, holding the tail can be no more than the means for a pedestrian to aid

⁹¹ Harry M. Hubbell, "Horse Sacrifice in Antiquity," *YCS* 1 (1928) 181-192, with special reference to *Aen.* 1.441-445 and Serv. ad loc.; M. Iunianus Iustinus (epit. Pompeius Trogus) 28.5.14-17.

⁹² Pace H. J. Rose, "A Suggested Explanation of Ritual Combats," *Folklore* 36 (1925) 322-331.

⁹³ Hendrik Wagenvoort, "Zur magischen Bedeutung des Schwanzes," *Serta philologica Aenipontana* (Innsbrucker Beitr. zur Kulturwiss., 52, 1962), 273-287; S. Eitrem, *Beiträge* (above, n.13), 28-34.

⁹⁴ Eitrem, *Beiträge* (above, n.13), 29; Wagenvoort, "Mag. Bedeut." (above, n.93), pl. I, fig. 1, cites Vermaseren, *Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae* (Hague, 1956) mon. no. 368, fig. 106. Other examples are listed in Vermaseren's Index, s.v. "ear."

⁹⁵ Vermaseren, *Corp. Inscr.*, no. 593, fig. 168.

his flagging steps when there is only one mount available to two travelers.⁹⁶

It is hardly surprising — indeed, it is almost inevitable — that someone call the tail a symbol or substitute for the Horse's phallus.⁹⁷ Nevertheless, even in a post-Freudian climate of the free exercise of the imagination, the burden of proof for a symbolic interpretation must be borne by the symbolists.

The ancient testimony says that a tail, not a penis, was carried to the Regia. It is true that the Greeks and Romans used the euphemisms *cauda* and οὐρά, just as Germans still say *Schwanz*. Yet these words are slang, appropriate to the language of comedy and satire, not to the prosaic, even dry, reports of a religious ceremony.⁹⁸ Plutarch and Festus were guilty neither of levity nor so inordinate a degree of delicacy that they would not have called the phallus by its literal name.

Nor is there any reason to suppose that modesty or a sense of propriety compelled the celebrants to use a tail in the place of a phallus for the dash from Campus Martius to Regia. Genuine phalli, or accurate representations of them, are a familiar enough feature of public ritual. The dismemberment of animals and employment of their aesthetically less pleasing parts for sacrifice and prophecy could often be very untidy affairs, but never a deterrent from the faithful completion of every step of the process or its accurate representation in art. There is surely no need of iconographic euphemism in the case of the grain-sprouting tail of the Mithraic bull, for example; for the bull on many tauroctonus reliefs suffers the indignity and agony of a scorpion grasping his testicles. Although the Romans kept a cautious rein on licentious behavior, even

⁹⁶ Wagenvoort, "Mag. Bedeut." (above, n.93), 283, briefly concedes herdsmen's use of a horse's or cow's tail to help ford a stream. Cf. the use by Ariovistus's infantry of horses' manes to speed their steps: Caesar *BG* 1.48.7. U.S. cavalrymen were known to dismount and support themselves by holding their mounts' tails on particularly rough terrain during the tranquilization of the American Southwest.

⁹⁷ E.g., Meuli, "Ursprung der Olymp. Spiele" (above, n.43), 81.

⁹⁸ The philological argument of George Devereux, *Mnemosyne* ser. 4, vol. 23 (1970), pp. 297-301, that our brief, prosaic notices of the rite intend *cauda* or οὐρά euphemistically to mean *membrum virile* is untenable. Such expressions are as comic and frivolous as the modern slang meaning of *Schwanz*, as is illustrated by Devereux's and other examples: Eustathius *ad Il.* 11.558, p. 862.42, Devarius; cf. Hor. *S.* 1.2.45, 2.7.49; Hom. *Epigr.* 12.4: ὦν [sc. γερόντων] οὐραὶ ἀπήμβλυνται, θυμὸς δὲ μειοῖνᾳ. A. Baumeister (humorlessly): ὥρη. Festus 260.15 L: *penem antiqui codam vocabant*, where the argument is that the literal meaning of *penis* is "tail," not that *cauda* is a pet name for *penis*. (He is explaining the derivation of such words as *peniculus*, "brush.") Dumézil, *Fêtes*, 211-219, disbelieves any relevance for the October Horse of phallicism or stories of copulation with animals.

when it had a religious excuse, repugnance at the public display of the *turpe membrum* comes only with the development of a Christian sense of delicacy.⁹⁹ The symbolic substitution of one member for another would have implied a lack of religious conviction. After all, for a ceremony to be effective, the real thing had to be used. If a tail was carried to the Regia, a tail was all that was intended.

Without its being a substitute for the phallus, the tail could have a magico-religious importance all its own. But so, for that matter, could practically every portion of the anatomy, if one browses far enough afield in the relevant literature.¹⁰⁰ If a simple, admittedly prosaic reason be sought for the tail's importance, one need only watch a horse flicking flies or a dog caught up in a moment of emotional transport. Here, possessed by nonhuman mammals, is an organ which seems to have a life and will all its own.

There is also a practical side to the tail's importance. It is portable and decorative. Furthermore, that very meagerness of blood which has perplexed those scholars who boast a modicum of physiological knowledge would also add to the dramatic suspense of the ritual of the libation on the hearth. Readily grasped by the runner, the tossing plume would be easily visible to spectators along the route of its frantic progress to the Forum. At the Regia, it is easy to imagine with what bated breath the participants waited until the few available drops of blood splashed onto the surface of the hearth. Other more abundant libations and offerings would have been made here in the course of the year. But on this one occasion, the very difficulties would be the reason for attempting this strange mode of *numen*-enhancement. For it is not hard to think of private games, artificial obstacles, or little challenges to unseen powers to elicit good omens. Robert Bruce's wager with the spider comes to mind; and there are other more public rituals, such as attributing to the quick, clean breaking of the goblet beneath the groom's heel at a Jewish wedding a prophetic importance which was not originally there. It is easy to imagine, then, that the officiating priests would have recruited the swiftest runner and most artful tail-squeezer or shaker. The greater the number of drops of blood, the better the omen for the prosperity of the King's house and the City.

VI. Mars

Each of the things done to the October Horse — the contact of its parts and blood with the King's house, the celebrants of the Parilia,

⁹⁹ Augustine, *Civ. Dei* 7.21; Clem. *Protr.* 2.7: μόρια ἄρρητα.

¹⁰⁰ Onians, *Origins* (above, n.33), passim and 208.

livestock, and grain — makes sense in terms of pre-deistic religion. The only deities clearly connected with the rites are Vesta, in whose store-room the blood was kept, and on whom (that is, the hearth) the blood was dripped, and the obscure Pales, to whose festival the senior Vestal Virgin brought the blood.

Yet, both Festus and Plutarch say that the Horse was sacrificed to Mars. Timaeus, as quoted by Polybius, simply says that a war horse is speared in the Campus Martius. The October Horse is the only horse which the Romans are said to have sacrificed to Mars, although horses along with other victims are said to have been offered by the barbarians to their equivalents of Ares.¹⁰¹

At first sight, the mention of Mars' name looks like an inference from the given information that the sacrifice was made on the Field of Mars, and that the animal was a martial steed. The feeling is reinforced by the confused non sequitur in the epitome of Paulus, that a horse was sacrificed for the production of *fruges*, because the customary bullock is suited to *fruges*, and the horse to war. There seems here to be an inept attempt to reconcile the obvious anomalies of the involvement in an agricultural ceremony of Mars *militaris* and an animal with little or no use in agriculture.¹⁰²

Yet, the naive ancient attempt to find a place for the Hellenized Mars-Ares in an agricultural ceremony need not obscure Mars' appropriateness to ceremonies which involve Vesta, the Regia, and the production of grain. Spears of Quirinus were kept in the Regia.¹⁰³ On the first day of Mars' month, the old New Year's Day marked on the Fasti Praenestini as *Feriae Marti*, the fire of Vesta was renewed, and fresh laurels were affixed to the Regia.¹⁰⁴

Mars can also have been involved in the procurement of bean straw for the fires at the Parilia. Ioannes Lydus reports that the bean is

¹⁰¹ Hdt. 4.62: Scythian sacrifices of horses and other animals to Ares, with no apparent distinction of victims; Strabo 3.3.7 (p. 155): Lusitanian sacrifices of goats, humans, and horses; Ps.-Callisthenes 3.25.9: horses to Poseidon and Hephaestos.

¹⁰² Fritz Schachermeyr, *Poseidon und die Entstehung des griechischen Götterglaubens* (Bern, 1950), 91 f, sees a development of Roman Mars from the centaur-like Μάρης. Cf. n.48, above.

¹⁰³ Mannhardt, *Myth. Forsch.*, 159; Wagenvoort, *Roman Dynamism*, 75; and Pierre Lambrechts, "Mars et le Saliens," *Latomus* 5 (1946) 112, n.2; 113, call them spears of Mars, citing Festus 238 L, s.v. "Persillum."

¹⁰⁴ Fowler, *Festivals*, 35; Macr. *Sat.* 1.12.5-6; Ovid, *Fasti* 3.135-144. Diodorus Siculus, 37.11, includes Mars in a multiple oath of allegiance by Capitoline Jupiter, Vesta, Sol (perhaps Indiges), and other gods, but the oath is discredited as unlearned and spurious by H. J. Rose, "The 'Oath of Philippus' and the *Di Indigites*," *HTR* 30 (1937) 165-181.

sacred to Mars, and that in his month all the people eat beans and smear each others' faces with bean juice.¹⁰⁵ Whatever may be the reliability of Ioannes, it is easier to draw an inference from him than to make the unsubstantiated guess that the straw of the April fires was tied together in the shape of the strawman-Corn Spirit of some northern festivals.¹⁰⁶

The one clearly expressed purpose of the sacrifice of the October Horse — *ob frugum eventum* — echoes the archaic prayer to Mars at the suovetaurilia, that he permit grain and vineyards to burgeon forth: *utique tu fruges, frumenta, vineta . . . evenire siris*.¹⁰⁷

VII. The Place

Although the ceremonies culminate at the Regia, they tend mostly to skirt the oldest part of Rome. They begin at the Campus Martius, which is outside the pomerium, and have importance for the Sacra Via, which in earliest times was too marshy for habitation, and the relatively distant Subura.¹⁰⁸

The locus of events is oddly random. Most other religious celebrations are usually set either in single public places or simultaneously in public places and private households. That is to say, a particular holiday can have a public ceremony at the Capitolium, the Regia, or the Pons Sublicius, with analogous private ceremonies at thresholds, hearths, tombs, or the *compita*. By way of contrast, the rites of the October Horse meander from Campus Martius to Regia, from Sacra Via to Subura, and, depending on the outcome of the battle for the head, back to the Regia or Subura.

According to the Calendar of Philocalus, the Horse was sacrificed on the northern part of the Campus Martius, near the *ciconiae nixae*, apparently a statuary group of storks.¹⁰⁹ The approximate location is

¹⁰⁵ *De Mensibus* 4.42.

¹⁰⁶ Clemen, "Tötung" (above, n.37), 333.

¹⁰⁷ Cato *Agr.* 141.3; also noticed by Alfred von Domaszewski, *Abhandlungen zur römischen Religion* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1909; repr. 1975, New York), 124 = *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 24.76, where his purpose is to delineate the function of the deified Bonus Eventus.

¹⁰⁸ H. J. Rose, *Some Problems of Classical Religion* (Oslo, 1958), 6. Joe Park Poe, *TAPA* 108 (1978) 147–154, places the Subura near the Caelian Hill.

¹⁰⁹ *CIL* I², p. 274: *equus ad nixas fit*; *Not. reg.*: *Regio IX continet . . . ciconias nixas*, quoted in H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* II (Berlin, 1871) 554 f, and Arvast Nordh, *Libellus de Regionibus Urbis Romae* (Skrifter Utgivna a Svenska Institutet i Rom," III.8°, Lund, 1949) 87. The *ciconiae* are usually taken to be a statuary group of storks; cf. the legend told by Hesychius, *Origines Constantinopolitanae* 25 (23), in Th. Preger, *Scriptores Originum Con-*

the present-day piazza Nicosia, or a spot between it and the piazza Borghese, just east of the ponte Umberto and about 300 meters south of the Mausoleum of Augustus.¹¹⁰

The Campus Martius itself is a broad, roughly triangular alluvial plain, extending almost to the Theater of Marcellus and the Ghetto, with its western end at the turn in the Tiber opposite Hadrian's Tomb. The sacrifice of the Horse and the conveyance of the tail took place on terrain that was overlaid with more than two millennia of human habitation and layer upon layer of religious and mythological tradition. The western corner of the Campus was the site of the altar of Dis buried at the Tarentum (or Terentum), where the Ludi Tarentini, later called the Ludi Saeculares, took place.¹¹¹

The most familiar legend of the consecration of the Campus Martius, with the jettisoning of Tarquin's grain into the Tiber, suggests one of the likely ways of disposing of the Horse's remains.¹¹² The other stories of the discovery of the subterranean altar of Dis¹¹³ and the donation of the Tarentum by the Vestal Tarquinia or Gaia Taracia or Acca

stantinopolitanarum I (Leipzig, 1901) 11. Tönnies Kelberg, *Eranos* 31 (1933) 27-33, translates *nixae* as "flying." J. Rougé, *REA* 59 (1957) 320-328, takes the *ciconiae* to be dockside loading booms or "cranes"; his interpretation of *CIL* 6.1785, 31931.

¹¹⁰ Ferdinando Castagnoli, "Il Campo Marzio nell' antichità," *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Memorie*, Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche, ser. 8, vol. 1, fasc. 4 (1947), p. 136 f; Hulsen, *RE*, s.v. "Ciconiae nixae" 543; Samuel Ball Platner, "The Ara Martis," *CPh* 3 (1908) 65-73.

¹¹¹ For etymologies of Tarentum/Terentum, cf. Festus 479 L; Serv. *Aen.* 8.63; H. Wagenvoort, "The Origin of the Ludi Saeculares," in *Studies in Roman Literature, Culture and Religion* (Leiden, 1956), 197-204; Franz Altheim, *Terra Mater*, 2; Pierre Willeumier, "Tarente et le Tarentum," *REL* 16 (1938) 139-145; Lily Ross Taylor, *AJP* 55 (1934) 115 f. On the location, Pierre Boyancé, "Note sur le Tarentum," *École française de Rome, Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 42 (1925) 135-146, invalidated by later discoveries: *CIL* 6.32323 ff; *Ann. Epigr.* 1932, no. 70 (*Notizie degli Scavi* 1931, p. 322 ff); Giovanni Battista Pighi, *De Ludis Saecularibus*² (Amsterdam, 1965), 107 ff and passim; Samuel Ball Platner and Thomas Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (Oxford, 1929; repr. Rome, 1965) s.v. "Dis Pater et Proserpina," "Tarentum"; Castagnoli, "Campo Marzio" 155 f.

¹¹² Livy 2.5.2; Dionysius of Halicarnassus 5.13.2-4; Plut. *Popl.* 8; Florus 1.3; cf. Serv. *Aen.* 9.272; R. M. Ogilvie, at Livy 2.5.1-4, a rejection of the usual religious interpretation, but unsupported by proof.

¹¹³ Val. Max. 2.4.5; Zosimus 2.1 ff; discussed by C. B. Pascal, "Fire on the Tarentum" *AJP* 100 (1979) 532-537. Pighi (above, n.111), 51, and Boyancé, "Note" (above, n.111), 138, assume the presence of a *mundus*. Chthonian connotations and the origins of Mars: H. Wagenvoort, "The Origin of the Ludi Saeculares" (see n.111, above), 204-232.

Larentia¹¹⁴ are ample indication that this tract on the river was so enriched with the mulch of religious associations that it was almost inevitable that native celebrations would take root there; and foreign imports, since it lay outside the pomerium, would find a fertile environment for their growth.

D. EVOLUTION OF THE RITE

The ancient accounts of the sacrifice of the October Horse give the superficial impression that the whole ceremony was a unity whose parts were all essential to each other. Modern holistic theories of its significance have in one way or another perpetuated this tradition of a monolithic unity but have each, for one reason or another, been invalidated by at least one irreconcilable discrepancy between ad-hoc theory and the realities of Roman religion in general or the October rite in particular. The agricultural and domestic importance of the rite contradicts the assertion that it was a military lustration, despite a couple of general observations that horses are suited to war. Everything that is known or can be surmised about the treatment and disposition of this or any Roman victim dispels the notion that it was the chief persona in some such religious drama as the *asvamedha* or the annual killing of the Corn God.

Rather than try to impose an artificial unity on the rites of October, it makes more sense to see in them a reconciliation of several elements coming from different sources. Such amalgamations of festivals are common enough to suggest the possibility of some such hybridization in the October sacrifice itself.

Inscribed calendars of a relatively late date show that the Ides of October was a traditionally important agricultural date, not only for the wheat farmer but also for the vintner.¹¹⁵ In a primitive community the day's sacrifices would naturally involve the king, and later the *rex sacrificulus*. Part of the *numen*-enhancing blood of the sacrifice would be applied to his hearth. A later elaboration of the ritual would be the reservation of part of the blood for the Parilia by the Vestal Virgins, who were surrogates for the archaic King's daughters.

¹¹⁴ Donation of Campus Martius by Tarquinia: Plut. *Popl.* 8; donation of Campus Tiberinus by Gaia Taracia: Gellius 7.7.4, Pliny *NH* 34.6.11. Acca Larentia: Macr. *Sat.* 1.10.16; Wissowa, *RE*, s.v. "Acca" 131; Livy 1.4.3-4; W. F. Otto, "Römische Sagen, III: Larentalia und Acca Larentia," *WS* 35 (1913) 62-74.

¹¹⁵ Feriale Campanum, *Insc. It.* 13:2, p. 282 f; Menologia Rustica, *CIL* I², p. 280 f (*Insc. It.* 13:2, pp. 284-298).

The sacrifice at the *ciconiae nixae*, however, may not have originally been part of the state's ceremonial cycle but rather of the family cultus of the gens *Mamilia*. This can be inferred both from omissions in the data and some positive clues.

None of the surviving documents tells what public priest or magistrate performed the sacrifice. It is possible that none did; for Polybius, describing the act, says, τοὺς Ῥωμαίους . . . κατακοντίζειν. The omission of *hiereus* or some official title need not have been an accident. The spearing could have been done by a member of the clan; or perhaps several competed in a spear-throwing contest to see who would make the telling cast.

None of the extant inscribed calendars contains the October Horse among the small-lettered *additamenta* whereby important religious occasions that fell on the Ides were recorded. It is found only in a relatively late manuscript. An easy inference is that although the festival of the Mamilian clan attained local celebrity outside the pomerium and even ultimately contributed to the *suffimen* of the Parilia, it never attained an importance equal to that of other State ceremonies.

A dramatic interval in the celebration of the private cult would have been the annual attempt of the Mamilii to vaunt their past glory and reassert their claim to the royal sacrificial prerogatives which they could have claimed to have inherited from the Tarquins, but which had passed over to the *rex sacrificulus*, who now occupied the Regia, or to its later occupant, the Pontifex Maximus. Indeed, the sacrifice by the *ciconiae nixae* could have been an occasion for the flare-up of rivalries between families and neighborhoods traditionally associated with the respective claimants to the old prerogatives, not entirely unlike some modern holy days and patriotic holidays, when local authorities deem it prudent to put extra police reserves on the alert. A high point in the drama would have been the battle for the head of the victim — in the early days, particularly if the sacrifice was originally a holocaust, possibly the conventional bullock.

When the innovation of chariot racing was added to such entertainment as would be normal to the occasion, it would have been a welcome substitute for some of the rowdier activities. One of the teams, it may be imagined, was entered by the Mamilii. In other holidays, it is not unusual that a traditional sport or dish (such as the anachronistic potato pancakes on Chanukkah or the Christmas fruitcake) or some other custom habitually maintained year after year will eventually be popularly regarded as having its own religious importance, essential to the proper observance of the ritual. Thus the race became an essential part of the ritual at the *ciconiae nixae*, the best of the steeds replaced the conven-

tional victim; all the things that had been done to the original victim, culminating with the usurpation of the sacrifice by the occupant of the Regia, were done to the Horse; and the October Horse itself provided the name by which the otherwise unnamed event is remembered.¹¹⁶

It is a commonplace of religious history for occasions so to evolve or so to imbue the coloration of the concomitant events that they bear little resemblance to their original form. The prominence lent to St. John's Day by its proximity to the summer solstice has resulted in a gala outside the Lateran church, with feasting on snails and pork sandwiches. The reciprocal influences of the Saturnalia, Germanic solstitial festivals, Christmas, and Chanukkah are familiar. Roman religion provides the example of the Quinquatrus, where the coincidence of the festival of Mars and the *natalis* of Minerva gave rise to an after-the-fact etiological myth.¹¹⁷ With these and other analogies coming readily to mind, it is not hard to imagine that the sacrifice of the October Horse and its attendant ceremonies are a hybrid, whose most memorable procedures are perhaps the most foreign.

The contention that all this October activity originated with a festival of the Mamiliii has one clear analogy. Within easy walking distance of the *ciconiae nixae* there is another example of one clan's success in gaining national prominence for its own cult, and of that cult's affinity for foreign accretions. The legends and cultus of the underground altar of Dis at the Tarentum contribute to the prominence of the *gens Valeria*: Valesius, its founder, later to be called Manius Valerius, and Valerius Poplicola, founder of the Ludi Tarentini. The altar seems originally to have been a family shrine,¹¹⁸ originally the scene of the occasional *procuratio* of untoward prodigies and soon augmented with procedures which are mostly foreign innovations: the computation of the *saeculum* by an Etruscan scheme of reckoning, Greek gods (including the Dis and

¹¹⁶ E.g., Memorial Day is commonly called Decoration Day. One of my cousins by marriage is the source of a more homely example. His childish reaction, at one of his earliest birthday parties, to the new game of "Pin the Tail on the Donkey" is still vividly remembered. Although the "birthday boy" is now approaching middle age, the date has been permanently marked on the family calendar as "Donkey's Ass-Bone Day."

¹¹⁷ F. Heichelheim, *RE* 15.1778; Fowler *Fest.* 59-62; *CIL* I², pp. 242, 234; Porph. *ad Hor. Epist.* 2.2.209.

¹¹⁸ Pighi (above, n.111), 5. Hermann Diels, *Sibyllinische Blätter* (Berlin, 1890), 50, accepts the etiology of a *Valerius-valere* derivation, as suggested by Zosimus, 2.3. However, Lily Ross Taylor, *AJP* 55 (1934) 115 f, attributes the prominence of Valerius in the myth to the effort of the historian Valerius Antias to lend prominence to his clan's cult; documented by R. M. Ogilvie, *A Commentary on Livy: Books 1-5* (Oxford, 1965), 14 f.

Proserpina of the etiological legend), Greek-style *lectisternia*, and just about the last addition to the Games, horse races.¹¹⁹

Lacking — or perhaps disdaining — the *réclame* contrived by such family publicists as Valerius Antias and Valerius Maximus, the Mamilii would have held out for the more substantial benefits of the sacrifice and the vestiges of regal prerogatives. Their annual attempt to re-assert their traditional dignity seems originally to have taken the form of a genuine brawl between the Sacravienses, who lived nearer to and supported the Regia, and the Suburenses, who must have felt some ties to the Mamilii, possibly because they lived near the *turris Mamilia*. Inevitably there have been attempts to attach religious importance to such regular battles-royal wherever they occur, but such attempts are no better than guesses.¹²⁰ The battle for the Horse's head seems to have been nothing else than just the kind of local riot that the Romans were anxious to keep under control.¹²¹

There is a clear and more recent example of such a formalization and the superimposition of religion onto a popular contest in the Sieneese *Palio*, where twice each year the rivalries of the city's districts, the *contrade*, effloresce in a rough-and-tumble horse race.¹²² Its precursors were bullfights and other animal games and bruising battles between helmeted, club-wielding gangs. Its present form includes a strangely normalized tradition of skulduggery, with bribery of the jockeys and doping of the horses before the race and unrestrained mayhem during the running. (The fate of a mount which has accidentally been killed during a race is interesting and possibly apropos: its hooves and tail

¹¹⁹ For the notion of Magna Graecia as the origin of the name of the Ludi Tarentini, see Altheim and Wuilleumier, cited n.111, above.

¹²⁰ E.g., Joachim Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverwaltung* 3.321, n.2, calls the battle a rite of lustration, adducing an analogy in the combat (or mock combat) at the tomb of Harpalyce, Serv. *Aen.* 1.317: *populi . . . propter expiationem per imaginem pugnae concurrerent*. The example does not apply, for aside from the confusion of *expiatio* with *lustratio*, Servius's account is a contrived etiology for what must originally have been either funeral games or a hero cult. Theodor H. Gaster, *Thespis*² (New York, 1961), 37–41, lists some festival combats and arbitrarily ascribes ritual origins to them all.

¹²¹ Th. Mommsen, *The History of Rome*, trans. W. P. Dickson (New York, 1908), I.64 f: "The two halves of the old city . . . thus competed with each other on equal terms"; Inez G. Scott, *TAPA* 40 (1929) 227. For concern with public order, cf. the ten-year suspension of games after the riots at Pompeii, Tac. *Ann.* 14.17.

¹²² Alan Dundes and Alessandro Falassi, *La Terra in Piazza* (Berkeley, 1975); Giovanni Cecchini and Dario Neri, *Il Palio di Siena* (Milan, 1958). I am grateful to Professor Theodore Stern of the University of Oregon's Department of Anthropology for directing my attention to this festival.

are cut off and stored in the museum of the *contrada*.)¹²³ The intense inter-*contrada* antagonisms impinge on almost every aspect of daily life, and the folkloristic origins of the *Palio* itself are unrecorded and unknown. But by the time of the first written accounts and regulations in the twelfth century, religion had already intruded into its observance, so that the present-day celebration includes special masses, offerings of candles to the local Madonna, consecration of the contestants in the *contrada*'s own church, and rituals involving every member of the *contrada*.

The evolution of disparate celebrations like those at the Tarentum and in Siena give an idea of the range and variety of courses of development which were open to the original fertility and *numen*-increasing sacrifice at the *ciconiae nixae*. Whether or not the Mamili were originally the sole proprietors of the sacrifice — for the one-time mention of the *turris Mamilia* is the sole prop to this assumption — the later fortunes of the Ludi Tarentini show how a local or private rite can attain national importance and ultimately be so overlaid with innovations and foreign additions as to have little similarity to the prototype. The race at Siena shows how an essentially secular custom like a tug-of-war or a horse race can be incorporated in existing cult practices and gain a spurious religious significance.

In sum, the ceremony which was described by Polybius, Plutarch, Verrius Flaccus, and his epitomizer, Festus, seems to have attracted attention less for its intrinsic importance to the City and the State than for its picturesque uniqueness. The composite ritual is not a replica of some archaic Roman or Indo-European model but the result of an already long evolution and a string of fortuitous innovations.¹²⁴

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¹²³ Dundes-Falassi (above, n.122), p. 56.

¹²⁴ An earlier draft of this paper has benefited in several details from a sympathetic and learned reading by Professor Jerzy Linderski.

A NEW RESTORATION IN THE FALISCAN CERES- INSCRIPTION WITH NOTES ON LATIN *MOLERE* AND ITS ITALIC COGNATES

LIONEL S. JOSEPH AND JARED S. KLEIN

THE first sentence of the highly archaic¹ Faliscan Ceres-Inscription² reads as follows:³

ceres : far[.]me []tom : louf[]rui[]m: []kad

The second and third lacunae have been restored in an altogether satisfying way by Vetter as *louf[ī]r ui[no]m*.⁴ These restorations are felicitous from the standpoints of both the sense and the space available. In a context where the Italic goddess Ceres is mentioned beside *far* 'grain', the foodstuff with which she is most closely associated, it is entirely likely that Liber would be mentioned beside *uīnom* 'wine'. These restorations have accordingly been accepted by subsequent scholars and can be considered certain.⁵ The remaining two lacunae have continued to present problems, however. The stretch []kad is certainly a verb, almost assuredly a subjunctive. The uncertainty of the

The authors would like to thank Calvert Watkins for encouraging them to pursue in detail an idea which occurred to both of them simultaneously in his class on Italic dialects. This paper has also benefited from discussions with Jochem Schindler.

¹ According to E. Vetter, *Handbuch der italischen Dialekte*, I. Band (Heidelberg, 1953), p. 281, the text is epigraphically datable to around 600 B.C., making it, together with the Praenestine Fibula, the oldest bit of Italic we possess. Linguistically the text is remarkable for its preservation of the form *peparai*, the only attested example of the Proto-Italic first person singular perfect in *-ai*. The text is significant culturally as well in presenting the earliest Italic reference to Ceres and Liber.

² G. Herbig, ed., *Corpus Inscriptionum Etruscarum*, II.2.1 (Lipsia, 1912), Nr. 8079.

³ As presented in Vetter (above, n.1), p. 280, with minor modifications.

⁴ *Glotta* 14 (1925), p. 27.

⁵ Cf. V. Pisani, *Athenaeum. Studii Periodici di Letteratura e Storia dell' Antichità*, Pavia, n.s. 24 (1946), p. 51; J. Knobloch, *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, N.F. 101 (1958), p. 134; G. Giacomelli, *La Lingua Falisca* (Florence, 1963), p. 41.

*k*⁶ together with a possible trace of a *p* or *f* following the word divider after *uīnom* would seem to suggest [*fe*]rad or [*pa*]rad as possible restorations.⁷ Our line would then represent syntactically a (poetic?) coordinate structure involving two asyndetically conjoined clauses, type S₁ O₁ X S₂ O₂ V, with gapped verb in the first clause.

The only remaining question concerns the first lacuna. Vetter noted that there is room for only two letters here and tentatively restored *far_{me} [re]tom* 'deserved grain',⁸ a collocation which is both semantically unsatisfying and unparalleled elsewhere in Italic. In a letter to Knobloch dated 19.6.58 and cited by the latter,⁹ he revised this to "ME-(LC)TOM (oder ME(LQ)TOM)," seeing in this form the precursor of Latin *multum* 'much'. However, this restoration presents serious difficulties as well, for there is no evidence outside of such a putative **melc* / *ptom* itself that Latin *multum* ever contained a velar. If the form to be restored following *far* is an adjective, a lexical item other than those suggested by Vetter must be involved.

It would of course be thinkable that the correct collocation is not *far* + Adjective but *far* + S, where S would be some derivative noun suffix. Pisani imagined just such a formation when he restored *far_{me}-[n]tom*.¹⁰ But *-men(tum)* is originally a primary deverbative suffix, as reflected in Lat. *carmen* from **can-men*, root of *canere* 'to sing'. Early in the prehistory of Italic the formation spread to denominative *ā*-verbs (cf. *arma* → *armāre* → *armāmenta*), whence the reanalysis *arma* → *armāmenta* spawned a new secondary suffix *-āmentum*,¹¹ much as the Indo-European *-*nos* suffix (Lat. *-nus*), when attached to *ā*-stems, spawned a new secondary *-ānus* in Latin (cf. *urbānus* beside *Romānus*). As a derivative of the exclusively nominal root **bhar-*, Pisani's **farmentom* cannot be maintained.

There is, however, a possible restoration that makes perfect sense, is paralleled in Latin, and can be formally justified as well. By restoring either *far me[la]tom* or *me[le]tom* 'ground grain' we recover in the

⁶ C. Thulin, *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, N.F. 63 (1908), p. 254 saw an *r* here. Indeed, from the facsimile of the restored pot which he presents following p. 254, the reading *r* seems beyond reproach.

⁷ The latter suggestion [3 sg. pres. subj., either to the correspondent of Lat. *pariō* (cf. *adueniō*, *aduenat*) or to the verb appearing in the Lat. substantivized participle *parēns*] is due to C. Watkins, who will defend it elsewhere.

⁸ *Handbuch der italischen Dialekte*, p. 280.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 138.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

¹¹ That this reanalysis had already occurred by the period of Archaic Latin can be seen from the gloss *frūgāmenta* (Paulus ex Festo 91) as well as from Plautus' *nīdāmenta* (*Rud* 889).

Faliscan of ca. 600 B.C. a collocation which designates a substance important not only in Italic ritual but in Indo-European as well (cf. Hittite *ZÍD.DA mallan* 'ground meal', a collocation inferable from the co-occurrence of both lexical items in a ritual context at KBo XVI 78 Vs. I 7'-8', an Old Hittite text).¹² The importance of *far molitum* in archaic Roman religious practice is reflected in Paulus ex Festo 97.22 *immolare est mola, id est farre molito et sale*, where we find the very collocation which we have restored in Faliscan. *melatom* or *meletom* also makes excellent sense in the context. Neither estimative nor quantitative like Vetter's **meretom* or **melc/qtom*, *mela/etom* describes the type of *far* an ancient Italian would require for worship. As such, *far mela/etom* is on the same level as *uīnom*: a single substance in its religiously utilizable form. Just as Liber is asked to provide *uīnom*, so Ceres is asked to provide *far mela/etom*.

Much more complex are the morphological issues presented by *mela/etom*. On an Indo-European level this verb presents us with an overabundance of ablaut grades in what are for the most part simple thematic present stems: *e*-grade in OIr. *melid* and OCS *meljō* (a *ye/o*-stem), *o*-grade in Gothic *malan* and Lith. *malù*, zero-grade (**mlh₁-V*)¹³ in Armenian *malem* and Welsh *malu*. Latin *molō* is ambiguous (*e* or *o*), as is Hittite *mallai*, a *hi*-conjugation form (*e*, *o*, or zero). We thus have all nonextended grade possibilities represented in various Indo-European dialect groups, and within Celtic there is even a difference between the Goidelic forms with *e*-grade and the Brittonic forms with zero-grade.

In Italic the difficulties presented by this verb are compounded by uncertainty. Ostensibly, the only unambiguous finite forms are found in the Umbrian imperatives **kumultu** (1 ×), *comoltu* (5 ×), and **kumaltu** (3 ×) 'commolito', but these forms do not even agree among themselves. Taken at face value, the first two are *o*-grade formations, but the third must contain zero-grade. Latin, as previously stated, is ambiguous, but if the closely related Faliscan shows a perfect passive participle *mela/etom*, i.e. **melh₁-(e)tom*, this would almost assure an original *e*-grade present for Latin. In that case, Italic would attest all three ablaut grades. If the simultaneous presence in the various subgroups of three ablaut grades in a primary verb, where at most two are expected, is

¹² Cf. C. Watkins, *HSCP* 77 (1973), pp. 190-191; 78 (1975), p. 182. Note also Avestan *yaom . . . ašəm*, i.e. **yava- arta-* 'ground grain' in the purification ritual at Vidēvdāt 5.52, cited by Watkins in *Proc. APS* 122 (1978), p. 13.

¹³ The evidence for **h₁* is Mycenaean *me-re-ti-ri-ja* = *meletriai* 'grain grinders', at PY 1 (= Aa62). Cf. M. Ventris and J. Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1973), pp. 158, 560.

troublesome, the presence of all three grades in a single dialect area is past believing.

A minor difficulty presented by a putative **melh₁-(e)tom* is the presence of a full-grade in the normally zero-grade *to*-participle. In any case, however, such a formation would have been secondary. The original past participle to *molō* must have been **mlātos*, the avatar of which is attested with substantivized meaning in Welsh *blawd* 'flour' (cf. *gnātus*, **-tlātos*, and *strātus* to *gignō* / *genō*, *tollō*, and *sternō*, respectively). The phonological fate of **mlātos* is uncertain, but it most likely would have become **blātus*, possibly **flātus*.¹⁴ When the Italic verbal system was reconstituted from the material of late Proto-Indo-European with the integration of the *to*-participle into the system, a **blātos* or **flātos* beside **me/olō* would have been a prime candidate for replacement by a regularized form showing the same root allomorph as the present (cf. *domitus*, *genitus*, *sonitus*, *tonitus*, *vomit*). If the Latin (-Faliscan) present were **melō* such a form would assuredly have been **mela/eto-*.

But the problem of three ablaut grades in Italic requires closer scrutiny. The entire set of Umbrian forms from this root, both finite and non-finite, can be arranged in the following manner:

- (1) a. *comoltu* 'commolito': 5 × (VIb 17, 41; VIIa 39, 44, 45)
 b. *comatir* 'commolitis (abl.)': 6 × (VIb 17, 41²; VIIa 39, 44, 45)
- (2) a. *kumaltu* 'commolito': 3 × (IIa 9, 41; IV 28)
 b. *kumates* 'commolitis (abl.)': 3 × (Ia 34 <kumats>; IIa 42; IV 29)
 kumate ,, : 3 × (Ib 37, 38; IIa 10)
- (3) *kumultu* 'commolito': 1 × (Ia 34)
- (4) *maletu* 'molitum': 1 × (IIa 18: *salu maletu* 'saletum molitum')

(1) and (2) fall into natural sets of finite verb plus participle, appearing to reflect, respectively, *o*-grade and zero-grade of the root in the finite verb. Both sets point to zero-grade in the past participle. Beside these, the single remaining finite verb appears to reflect *o*-grade in the native alphabet.

It is perhaps not chance that the bulk of *o*-grade forms are found on Tables VI and VII, both of which are written in the Latin alphabet. It is generally thought that these tables date from a younger period than

¹⁴ Although, to be sure, the material is poor. For examples cf. M. Leumann, *Lateinische Laut- und Formenlehre*² (Munich, 1977), p. 190. We may note at any rate that initial **ml-* does not occur in Latin and that **mr-* gives *br-*, as in *brevis* from **mreghw-i-*, cf. Gk. *βραχύς*, Av. *mərəzu-* 'short', Goth. *gamaurgjan* 'to shorten'.

those inscribed in the native alphabet and reflect the encroaching influence of Roman culture.¹⁵ The *a / o* (<*o, u*>) alternation seen in these forms is not unique in Umbrian. It can be observed as well in the pairs **prehabia** (Va 5): **prehubia** (Va 12) 'praehibeat' and the divine name **Prestata** (Ib 27): *Prestota* (26 ×, all on VI and VII) '*Praestata'. On the basis primarily of these forms von Planta suggested the possibility of a weakening (raising) of medial *a* to *o* in Umbrian.¹⁶ Another probable instance of such a change is reflected in *amboltu* 'ambulato', if the frequently invoked comparison with Gk. ἀλάομαι 'I wander' is correct.¹⁷ This form would then come from an earlier **amb-aletōd*.¹⁸ These examples are of course few, but in a corpus consisting only of something over four thousand words they are significant. The precise conditions under which this change occurred are obscure. **prehubia**, **kumultu**, and *amboltu* suggest a labial environment, the latter two show the specific environment [labial]—IC. This in turn makes it likely that the change was not primarily a raising but rather a rounding of *a* to [o]. Syllable-final *l* may well have been velarized in Umbrian as it was in Latin, providing even stronger motivation for the change. These conditions will not work, of course, for **Prestata** / *Prestota*, but this form may contain an original **ā* in the second syllable.¹⁹ Despite these difficulties, it is likely that in each instance we are observing a real sound change in progress over an interval of perhaps a century. By the period of the tables inscribed in the Latin alphabet the change had been accomplished *in toto*, but in the earlier period there was a certain amount of fluctuation, and this is perhaps the reason for **kumultu** on Ia and the co-occurrence of **prehabia** and **prehubia** within seven lines of each other on Va. We may compare what appears to be parallel fluctuation in the change of *ā* to *ō* (<*o, u*>) in final syllables (nom. sg. **muta** 'mulct' Vb 2, but **mutu** Vb 6) as well as the frequent variation

¹⁵ Cf. J. W. Poultney, *The Bronze Tables of Iguvium* (Baltimore, 1959), p. 22.

¹⁶ R. von Planta, *Grammatik der oskisch-umbrischen Dialekte*, Bd. I (Strassburg, 1892), pp. 237–239.

¹⁷ Cf. Walde-Hofmann, *LEW*⁴ s.v. *ambolō*; Boisacq, *Dict. étym. langue gr.*³ s.v. ἄλη; Pokorny, *IEW* s.v. 3. ἄλ- "planlos umherschweifen, irren. etc." On the other hand, this equation is doubted by Frisk, *GEW* s.v. ἀλάομαι; and Ernout-Meillet, *Dict. étym. langue lat.*⁴ renounce it altogether.

¹⁸ The pair **Tesenakes** (Ia 11, 14) : *Tese/onocir* (VI and VII) 'Tesenacan (gate)' shows the same alternation as the other cases with similar distribution and may belong here as well.

¹⁹ If so, then it is an example of the parallel change of *ā* to *ō* (<*o, u*>) attested for the most part in final syllables with the same distribution within the tables. Cf. nom. sg. m. **kunikaz** 'kneeling' (IV 15, 18, 20) from **-ātos* beside *conegos* (VI, VII).

between <ei> and <i> in mid-second century B.C. Latin inscriptions for the *ī* newly monophthongized from original *ei*.

The Umbrian rounding and raising of *a* to *o* eliminates the necessity for positing an *o*-grade formation in the Umbrian equivalent of Latin *molere* and leaves us with what appears to be the Italic debris of an original athematic root present of the normal ablauting sort:²⁰

3rd sg.	*mélh ₁ -ti	> *melati
3rd pl.	*m _l h ₁ -énti	> *malenti
to-ppl.	*m _l h ₁ -tós	> *mlātos

Whereas Latin-Faliscan has generalized *e*-grade throughout,²¹ Umbrian has generalized the zero-grade forms: second and third person singular future imperative **maletōd* based on third person singular indicative **maleti*, itself built to **malenti*. **kumaltu** directly continues the first of these, with medial syncope and a **kom*-prefix, whereas **kumultu** and *comoltu* show rounding and raising. **kumate(s)** and *comatir* most likely represent a secondarily formed **kom-malto-*, a *to*-participle built directly to the root, which has evidently replaced **mlātos* (cf. *screhto*, **spafu** from **scriptos*, **spandtos*, respectively). The simplification of **lt* in **kommalto-* (seen also in **muta** 'mulct' from **multa*, earlier **mulcta*) must have occurred very early, preceding the syncope of predesinential *e* in **kommaletōd* and taking away the [labial]—1C environment apparently required for the change of *a* to *o*. The latter is thus seen to be a late, low-level rule within Umbrian, a fact that correlates nicely with the ongoing nature of the change at the time the language became fixed in writing.

The remaining Umbrian form, **maletu** 'molitum', has always been troublesome. Taken at face value, it is most likely a participle in *-ēto-*. There is a sizable number of such participles in Umbrian, even if we exclude forms such as **tacez** 'tacitus' and *virseto* 'visum', where the underlying verbs are of the second conjugation and the *to*-participle can therefore be plausibly viewed as containing **-ēto-*, with *ē* taken over from the present stem.²² However, there is no evidence whatsoever for

²⁰ For a different view of the prehistory of this verb, see J. Jasanoff, "The Position of the *hi*-Conjugation," in *Hethitisch und Indogermanisch*, ed. E. Neu and W. Meid (Innsbruck, 1979).

²¹ In Latin, of course, an original **melami*, **melasi*, **melati*, etc. would have given straightforwardly (with analogical remodeling in the 1st pers. sg.) the attested *molō*, *molis*, *molit*, etc.

²² Cf. Poultney (above, n.15), p. 47 for examples of *eto-* participles to non-second conjugation verb forms. These include **pruseçetu** to **prusekatu** 'cut'; *muieto* to *mugatu* 'make a noise'; *frosetom* 'damage', participle to **fraussā-*, itself an iterative built to the root seen in Lat. *fraudāre*; *pesetom* 'sin', cf. Lat.

a **malē-* in Umbrian or elsewhere in Italic. *eto*-forms, on the other hand, are well known in Indo-European. They are verbal adjectives, usually with gerundive value, and are built on either *e*-grade or zero-grade of the root, e.g. Vedic *darśatā-* 'worthy of being seen', *yajatā-* 'worthy of worship', Greek *ἄσχετος* 'irresistible', *ἐλετός* 'to be taken', *αὐίδετος* (Hesych.) 'unseen'. The latter form reflects the occasional usage of *eto*-formations in the same function as *to*-participles, a value also seen in Vedic *pacatā-* 'cooked', beside which a **paktā-* does not occur, and Avestan *γ(ə)mata-* 'gone' beside *gata-*. A form such as **maletō-* or **meletō-* might well have existed as an independent formation in early or common Italic, subsequently becoming pressed into service to replace **mlāto-*.

Despite the formation of **maletu**, it is clear, given the chronology stated above, that when the compound **kom-male-* was formed within Umbrian, its *to*-participle was **kom-malto-*, not **kom-maletō-*. The latter would require us to assume an early syncope of *e* followed by a replacement of an original simplex **maletōd* by **kommaletōd*. This is necessitated by the observation that if **kommaletō-* had undergone early syncope, so *a fortiori* would **kommaletōd*, had it existed at the same time,²³ giving no basis for the differing treatment of **lt* in these forms. Positing two stages of syncope in Umbrian is certainly gratuitous. On the other hand, the replacement of **male-* by **kom-male-* assuredly did occur,²⁴ for in the Iguvine Tables we have only a compound verb **commale-* 'to grind up'. The simplex **male-* has apparently died out with **maletu** retained as a relic, surviving in the archaic ritual collocation **salu maletu** 'saletum molitum.'

peccāre; and *vasetom* 'fault, omission', cf. Lat. *vacāre*. The striking substantivization seen in the last three of these forms recalls such *eto*-formations as Vedic *pacatā-* 'cooked food' and Oscan *genetai* (dat.) (the authors wish to thank P. Hollifield for drawing their attention to this form), Gaulish *geneta*, Welsh *geneth* 'girl, daughter'. Whether Latin *genitus* represents **genh₁-tos* or **genh₁-etos* remains uncertain.

²³ Indeed, the syncope of the thematic vowel in these Umbrian imperatives is pervasive and sets these forms in striking opposition to the participles, where syncope does not normally occur. Von Planta's explanation (see n.16, above, p. 215), whereby the occurrence of syncope depended originally on the heaviness of the following syllable (syncope before **-tōd* of the imperative, but not before **-tos*, **tom* of the participle), has never been superseded.

²⁴ This replacement may well have been influenced by the lexically perfective nature of this verb in most of its imaginable occurrences. Cf. English *grind up*, German *zermahlen*, and especially Skt. *sam mṛ*. The verb *piṣ* 'to crush', which is much more common than *mṛ* in the Rigveda, is accompanied by the preverb *sam* in almost all of its occurrences.

If our reconstruction of the prehistory of Umbrian **maletu**, **kumaltu** et cetera, is correct, it greatly increases the likelihood that the vowel to be restored in Faliscan *me[le/a]tom* is *e* rather than *a*. To be sure, it is simpler from the point of view of Latin to assume a *melatom* from **melh₁-tom*, since this would result straightforwardly in Latin *molitum*. However, the significance of Umbrian **maletu**, an archaism within its own linguistic tradition, is such that it seems preferable to posit an underlying **melh₁-eto-* in Latin and Faliscan as well.²⁵ This would have yielded a form **melitum*, which was subsequently replaced by *molitum* on the basis of *molō* / *molui*.

Finally, in reconstructing a normal ablauting athematic paradigm **melh₁-* / *mlh₁-* for Italic, we arrive at a situation directly comparable to that presupposed by Celtic in terms of the subsequent repartition of forms within the respective subgroups. Latin-Faliscan shows *mel-*, just like Goidelic; while (Oscan?-) Umbrian shows *mal-* (from **mlh₁-V-*), just like Brittonic. While the retention in Italic and Celtic of an inherited paradigm of a particular sort does not of course constitute positive evidence for an original Italo-Celtic unity, it is nonetheless, when contrasted with the exclusive verbal *o*-grade of their Western Indo-European neighbor, Germanic, another datum suggestive of at least extensive early contact between the two groups.²⁶

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²⁵ It would of course be thinkable that Latin-Faliscan and Umbrian show different original formations in the *to*-participle, with the former traceable to **melh₁-to-*, the latter to **melh₁-eto-* (with analogic *a*-vocalism) or **mlh₁-eto-*. For the preservation of *(-)el-* before a back vowel in Faliscan, *contra* Latin, decisive examples are lacking. But note forms such as *velos*; *velmino*, *velmineo* (dat.) "Volumnius" (Vetter, n.1 above, pp. 287, 320, 322), all of which are thought to be Etruscan but which in any case show that the sequence *-el(o)-* was at some point and in some forms tolerated in Faliscan.

²⁶ Addenda in press. Regarding our suggestion that *a* was rounded to *o* in Umbrian before *lC* when a labial preceded and our attendant assumption that *l* was velarized in this position, Alan Nussbaum has kindly drawn our attention (*per litteras*) to the similarly velar character of Umbrian initial *l* before back vowels, e.g., **vutu** from **lowetōd*, cf. Lat. *lavere* 'to wash', probably also **Vuvçis**, cf. Lat. *Lucius* (cf. Poultney, n.15 above, p. 71).

SUMMARIES OF DISSERTATIONS FOR THE DEGREE OF PH.D.

BARBARA BURRELL — Neokoroi: *Greek Cities of the Roman East*

THE word νεωκόρος signifies an official responsible for the care and upkeep of a temple. Yet in the first century A.D. this word began to be applied to cities as an honorific title. As the name implies, a temple was still involved, but this time it was a specific temple. The *neokoroi* were Greek cities that possessed provincial temples dedicated to the cult of the Roman emperors. Those that had more than one such temple could be more than once *neokoros*.

The great stumbling block of early research on the *neokoria* was the inadequacy and undependability of contemporary numismatic sources. Coin cabinets, salted with undetected forgeries, were published by unwary amateurs as well as by dedicated scholars. Since illustration of each coin was impossible, the reader had only the author's word that what he saw was as he described it; emperors were misidentified, cities mislabeled, errors and misreadings perpetuated even to our own day. The study of the *neokoria* has been especially affected by these problems. The misreading of one letter, that of the number of times a city was *neokoros*, can and has produced widespread misinterpretations, some of which cannot be corrected until the original coin once again comes to light.

This dissertation is an attempt to unite the wide-ranging evidence, numismatic, epigraphic, historical, and archaeological, and to present the case in full for each city that received the title *neokoros*. Numismatic evidence is particularly important, and in order to prevent a recurrence of the old plague of misreadings, no coin is cited that has not been checked, either in cold bronze or with the help of good photographs. In addition, all neokorate inscriptions are given with full titulature of the city involved.

The most important result of this research has been its illumination of the chronological development of the *neokoria*. The process began with provincial temples of Augustus built in Asia and Bithynia. There could be but one per emperor in the province and but one per city. By Flavian times, cities that possessed such temples were called *neokoroi*. Then came the philhellene Hadrian, who traveled through the East

with a lively interest in and respect for Greek cities and Greek culture. Breaking with previous tradition, he granted temples and *neokoriai* to three cities within one province (Kyzikos, Ephesos, and Smyrna), two of which already had neokorate temples. Thenceforth the title was used more freely, to suit the parties involved. Commodus could make Nikomedia *neokoros* for the sake of a favorite, and then withdraw the title when that favorite fell; Septimius Severus could reward his partisan stronghold Perinthos with *neokoria* as well as with more tangible favors.

The two most prodigal scatterers of *neokoriai*, Caracalla and Elagabalus, both traveled extensively in Asia Minor, though one was heading east, the other west. It should be remembered, however, that some of the honors were granted before the emperor touched Asian soil and that his presence was not necessary for such a grant. At this time large, wealthy and important cities were piling *neokoria* on *neokoria*, while smaller centers were receiving their first chance at the title. The *neokoria* became detached from its provincial status, as there was a limit to the number of provincial imperial temples that could exist.

The years of the later third century were troubled ones both for the cities of the eastern provinces and for the principate. Those who ruled for a year or less could not have been expected to leave much of a legacy among the titles of Greek cities. Valerian and Gallienus issued a last flurry of *neokoriai*, mainly to cities farther east, in Pamphylia, and to those that had lost the title after Elagabalus' death. Once again, the reason may well have been the emperor's involvement and presence in the East. After this, the evidence gives out. The *neokoria* would have ceased with the Christianization of the empire; a single occurrence in fifth-century Sardis must have been due to a conscious imitation of former glories.

The *neokoria* was the personal bond between a city and the emperor. With it the cities expressed loyalty and devotion to the emperor and to Rome; from it they could expect further favors and a higher standing in the competition for honors among them. The emperor too reaped the benefits of loyalty through the *neokoria* and the imperial cult in general. Though senatorial approval of the honor was necessary, and the provincial Koinon played the part of intercessor, the crucial contact was between city and emperor, and it evolved just as surely as the principate did.

Neokoria, like Roman provincial administration in general, was an ad-hoc affair, swayed, not ruled, by precedent. As it changed for the emperors, so it changed for the cities, becoming cheaper as it became

more common. Its great advantage was that a city could get more than one, making the pecking order clear at a time when several cities in the same province could all be "first" and "metropolis." Thus its popularity was assured as long as there was rivalry among cities. Asia, with its fabled five hundred cities, was always its blooming ground.

This dissertation has cataloged thirty-five *neokoroi*, with an ultimate count of fifty-two *neokoriai* among them. Further finds of coins and inscriptions will no doubt bring more to light. If so, they will probably confirm what has already been demonstrated: that the *neokoria* is a valuable indicator both of the state of the Greek cities and of that of the Roman Empire.

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Degree in Classical Archaeology 1980

LAURENCE R. KEPPLER — *The Textual and Thematic Contexts of Lucan's "Praise of Nero" in the Bellum Civile*

Critical interpretations of Lucan's *Bellum Civile* range from the view that the entire poem opposes Nero's Principate to the view that the entire poem supports it. The latter depends on reading lines 33–66 of Book I as a genuine encomium of Nero. Some scholars, considering the encomium of Nero to be genuine praise but unable to read the balance of the work as pro-Caesarean, solve this problem by denying the work coherence. Lucan began the work as a supporter of Nero, they argue, but became Nero's opponent while writing it. However, the attempt to reconcile the Nero passage with the balance of the work by supposing such a change of heart leads to at least one serious problem. Why is Lucan's portrait of Domitius Ahenobarbus, Nero's ancestor, as favorably biased in Book VII as it is in Book II? If Lucan's attitude toward Nero changed, then his attitude toward Domitius must have changed also, if Lucan's positive view of Domitius had anything to do with a positive view of Nero. As it is, Lucan even refers us explicitly in the later Book to the heroic conduct he has Domitius display in the former (cf. VII.604).

The sulfurously anti-Caesarean tone that suffuses the work, the passage "in praise of Nero," and the unchanged nature of Lucan's Domitius portrait, have seemed to be irreconcilable elements. A scholar who supports the view that Lucan changed his mind about Nero while writing the poem can maintain his position only by asserting that Lucan's attitude toward Domitius had absolutely nothing to do with his attitude toward Nero. But is it credible that Lucan could have conceived the theme of the *Bellum Civile*, and begun it with a genuine

encomium of Nero — yet been indifferent to the encomiastic opportunity afforded by a topic that mandated the presence of Nero's ancestor? Domitius Ahenobarbus was the first Republican Caesar encountered in the field, and probably the most important of Pompey's followers to die at Pharsalia. It seems hard to imagine how Lucan could possibly have chosen his topic without having considered the relationship between Domitius and Nero.

The tendency in Lucan studies is to leave unexamined the single most important decision Lucan made about the *Bellum Civile*: his choice of topic. The civil war that Julius Caesar fought was an awkward topic, even a dangerous one. Seneca, writing a treatise *De Clementia* — that is, about the political strategy Julius Caesar devised — thought it better not to mention Caesar at all. Lucan, however, chose to write on a topic that would necessarily feature him. Deciding to write about Julius Caesar meant deciding to write about his *clementia*, too. But even though Seneca was trying to associate *clementia* with Nero as a positive quality, Lucan's depiction of Julius Caesar's exercise of *clementia* in the *Bellum Civile* is indisputably negative. This is the more peculiar, since the outstanding recipient of Caesar's *clementia* in Lucan's work is Domitius Ahenobarbus. How could Lucan have missed an opportunity to praise the exercise on Domitius' behalf of the quality Seneca was attempting to associate with Domitius' descendant, Nero?

This thesis seeks to explain the context of Lucan's decision to write on the topic and in the manner that he did. Lucan's topic allowed him to portray a conflict between Caesar and Domitius in which Caesar humiliates Domitius by means of *clementia*. Both Caesar and Domitius were ancestors of Nero, it is argued: Caesar the adopted, Domitius the natural. But Nero Caesar hated to be reminded that he had ever been Nero Ahenobarbus; perhaps he was unable to reconcile being a Julio-Claudian Princeps with having been a member of an aristocratic family whose glory passed with the Republic. If so, Lucan's pro-Domitian bias in an anti-Caesarean context seems comprehensible. The role of Domitius in the poem may be understood as a reference by Lucan to Nero's former identity as part of the *nobilitas* in order to attack his current identity as Princeps, particularly as expressed by that policy with which Seneca wanted Nero to identify himself, *clementia*. Lucan tells us that Nero inspired the *Bellum Civile*, in which Lucan seems to bring the conflicting halves of Nero's identity into direct opposition over the issue of *clementia*. Seneca's *De Clementia* provides evidence that Nero Caesar, *clementia*, and *regnum* were being associated in a manner likely to have been extremely offensive to the Roman aristocracy of which Nero Ahenobarbus had been a member.

It is in such a context that Lucan's "praise of Nero" seems calculatedly critical. By ascribing to Nero the undefined grandiosity of power (I.52: *regnum . . . mundi*) that Augustus avoided, Lucan assists the reader in connecting Nero with Caesar, whose attitude toward power Augustus tacitly disavowed. But it is the very lack of power Lucan's Caesar has over nature (*mundus*) that is a major theme in the *Bellum Civile*. This theme seems better regarded not as inconsistent with, but as antithetical to, the *regnum mundi* Lucan connects with Nero.

The view that Lucan established a context which is deliberately antithetical to the Nero passage is supported by the text. Lucan seems to use the two words comprising the most striking phrase in the Nero passage, *regnum* and *mundus*, to urge the reader to connect Nero's apotheosis (45-52) with the downfall of the universe (72-80), and to support a further antithesis between lines 72-80 and 87-93. The universe in 87-93 is a functioning one, which survives because it can do what *regnum* cannot: apportion power among constituent elements that keep to their appointed roles. This theoretical opposition between *regnum* and *mundus* is supported later in the work. Lucan's Caesar refuses to respect any limits and acts as though he actually possessed *regnum mundi*. Lucan's nature seems to respond to this attitude by withdrawing from Caesar the benefit of her own observation of limits. Lucan thereby demonstrates that, in chaos, even Caesar is impotent.

Supporting the proposed antithesis between *mundus* and *regnum* by noticing Lucan's repetitions of these words from line 52 in lines 73, 80 and in lines 86, 92, respectively, has raised the difficult problem of how to use textual evidence of this kind in Lucan. It was Lucan's very indifference to verbal repetition that impressed his greatest editor, A. E. Housman. Recently, however, W. Lebek has argued for the existence of significant verbal repetition in Lucan, and this thesis supports his methodology.

This thesis attempts to use the textual and thematic contexts of the passage "in praise of Nero" to demonstrate that Lucan intended the "encomium" to be read as a statement of the ideology he wrote the *Bellum Civile* to attack.

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Degree in Classical Philology 1980

VINCENT ANTHONY LAURIA — *The Cult and Iconography of the Goddess Fortuna in Rome and Latium*

The thirty or so epithets that accrued to the goddess Fortuna by the imperial age testify both to her importance in the Roman pantheon and

her adaptability to various roles. In Rome the cult was associated according to tradition with the memory of King Servius Tullius, and the foundation of several temples was attributed to his reign. Elsewhere in Latium, at Antium and Praeneste, the worship of Fortuna had flourished from an early time and constituted the chief cult of those towns. It is on the basis of the similar and divergent features of the cults of Fortuna in Rome and Latium that this study has attempted to reconstruct the original aspect of the cult, to understand its transformations over the centuries, and to evaluate its role in the evolution of Rome's political and religious institutions; and it is in light of the nature and workings of the cult that this study has examined some of the varied representations of Fortuna and the archaeological evidence of her shrines.

This dissertation deals with the major cults of Fortuna for which significant evidence, in terms of literary sources and archaeological discovery, exists. In addition to Antium and Praeneste this includes the Roman cults of Fors Fortuna, Forum Boarium, Muliebris, Virilis, Obsequens, Respiciens, Equestris, Huiusce Diei. I have chosen not to treat the complex and extensive material regarding Fortuna Redux. With its associated cult of Fortuna Augusta, Fortuna Redux marks a new stage in the concept and cult of Fortuna and as such warrants a separate study of its own.

Characteristic of these early cults was the duality of Fortuna. Antium, possibly on account of its relative cultural isolation during the period of the middle Republic, alone preserved this archaic feature into later times. The coins of the *Fortunae Antiatinae* inform us both of the nature of the individual goddesses and of their relationship as a contrasting pair: a youthful Amazonian maiden and a decorous regal matron. Evidence for other early cults reveals a similar pattern of contrasting types: youth versus maturity; virgin versus matron.

By the time of the establishment of the cult of Fortuna Primigenia in Rome in 194 B.C. and of Fortuna Equestris in 173 B.C. a change had taken place. Not only were new cults dedicated to a single Fortuna but the sense of duality that had existed in the early cults was blurred. The growing influence of Greek culture and the introduction of the Greek concept of Tyche were undoubtedly factors in this evolution. In cults where the two goddesses had presumably been worshiped in a single temple one aspect of the divine pair came to predominate — the matron in Fortuna Muliebris and the virgin in Fortuna "Puer" Primigenia. In cults that consisted of two neighboring shrines, such as Fortuna Virgo and Mater Matuta in the Forum Boarium and Fors Fortuna and Dea Dia at the sixth milestone of the Via Campana, the two goddesses

evolve as distinct deities with distinct mythologies. In such examples the matron type loses her identity as Fortuna and is reinterpreted as and identified with an established mother goddess. The hypothetical cult of Fortuna Virilis and Venus Verticordia presumably also underwent a similar process of disassociation. While the sense of duality faded in the cult of Fortuna, the concept of a contrasting female pair, which was rooted in the Roman culture and consciousness, survived as a convention of Roman art.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Degree in Classical Archaeology 1980

ELIZABETH SUSAN LOTT — *The Florilegium of Cava 3, Madrid 19, and Paris 7418*

This dissertation aims at reconstructing, as far as possible, a florilegium, now lost, which comprised numerous treatises of scientific and theological nature, many of them unusual or rare. That such an attempt could be undertaken is owed to the survival of three manuscripts which are derived from that florilegium: (1) Cava dei Tirreni, Biblioteca della Badia della SS. Trinità, Ms. membr. 3, of the eleventh century; (2) Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Latin ms. 19 (olim A. 16; A. 22), of the twelfth century; and (3) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Latin ms. 7418, of the fourteenth century.

The first chapter lists the contents of each manuscript separately and discusses both the provenance of each, if known, and previous scholarly notice of the codices. The Beneventan script of Cava 3, in conjunction with the presence of the *Annales Cavenses* within the manuscript, suggests that the volume was produced at Cava ca. A.D. 1050. Paris 7418's Gothic script also suggests an Italian origin, sometime in the fourteenth century. The external evidence of Madrid 19, however, indicates that the codex was copied from a Beneventan exemplar in the early to mid twelfth century, but offers no suggestion of place of origin. Attribution to both Ripoll and Monte Cassino has been postulated by several scholars, but neither has ever been proved.

The history of the text and illuminations of the *Aratea* of Germanicus Caesar is considered in chapter two. Among the three manuscripts this work survives today only in Madrid 19. It was without doubt, however, originally part of Paris 7418, later removed and copied twice by Coluccio Salutati (Florence, Strozianus 46 and Vat. lat. 3110) before being lost. Similarly, the *Aratea* may also have been originally present in Cava 3, and it is likely that it formed part of the lost florilegium. The

textual and iconographic traditions of the *Aratea* suggest that the work included in the florilegium was executed in Italy and possibly in southern Italy, from a northern French exemplar.

The third chapter discusses the contents of and illustrations accompanying the first chapter of Bede's *De Temporum ratione*. This text describes a system of finger calculation. Although digital computation was well known in antiquity, as witnessed by many allusions in the works of Roman authors, no explanatory treatise survives from a period significantly earlier than Bede. In the three manuscripts the text is accompanied by a series of full-length figures, each displaying on its hands a designated number. These illustrations are iconographically distinct from those of other manuscripts. Stylistically they reflect the Italian technique contemporary with the execution of each manuscript.

The textual history of a series of nineteen *computus* poems considered in chapter four also attests that the florilegium was produced in southern Italy, and specifically in Monte Cassino, an attribution which previously lacked evidence. These poems are found in Cava 3 and Madrid 19; however, due to the lacuna in Paris 7418 which includes the *Aratea* of Germanicus Caesar, they are found not in Paris 7418, but in its derivative manuscript, Strozianus 46. Of the nineteen poems, ten are extremely common and are found elsewhere predominantly in northern French *computus* manuscripts. The remaining nine, however, which are comparatively rare, are found elsewhere almost exclusively in codices from Monte Cassino. Similarly, the series of twelve medical treatises considered in chapter five comprises six which are found individually in many *computus* manuscripts of St. Gall and, more especially, northern France, as well as six which are most commonly found together as a group in Beneventan manuscripts.

In conclusion, the information gained from external evidence found in the three manuscripts taken in conjunction with information disclosed by the tradition of certain of the florilegium's texts and of the illustrations which accompany them proves that Cava 3, Madrid 19, and Paris 7418 are all undoubtedly of Italian provenance. Furthermore, the textual history of the *computus* poems and of the medical selections strongly suggests that the original, lost florilegium was compiled at Monte Cassino, probably in the early years of the eleventh century, from a northern French *computus* manuscript or manuscripts and from Beneventan codices containing less well-known components of the collection. An index of manuscripts cited and a select bibliography by chapter are appended.

EDDIE R. LOWRY, JR. — *Thersites: A Study in Comic-Shame*

Thersites, the "ugliest" man who came to Troy, has traditionally been regarded as a disrespectful political agitator. This dissertation examines such interpretations, finds they are misleading if not inaccurate, and proposes another interpretation which gives the misshapen speaker more than a few descendants in unexpected places in Greek literature and history.

Thersites must be understood not as "ugliest" but as "most shame-causing." His superlative epithet *aîskhistos* is shown by the content of his speech and the reaction of his audience to denote the same shame as that denoted by other words in the *aîskhos* family in Homer. Thersites causes the same shame as a shameful word or action, and in looking at and listening to him, Anglophones must adapt a native tendency to expect *shameful* words or deeds from *shameless* persons.

The shame of which Thersites is a superlative example is created when a person's status is diminished by others' laughter at his person or at his actions. Not only does such laughter attend abusive, reproachful language, but in all periods of Greek history and literature it is directed at the deformed, the crippled, the pointed headed, the physically infirm, etc. Thersites is therefore *aîskhistos* "most shame-causing" not only because of his words but also because of his appearance.

The English notion of "shame" is sometimes appropriate to contexts in Homer where *aidôs* is used. *Aidôs* is exemplified if a Homeric character whose position is enhanced by another's diminution checks that advantage, which causes *aîskhos* to the other party. The restraints connected with *aidôs* are socially motivated in that they take into account interests beyond those of the individual, whereas the shame of the *aîskhrôn* exists in reference to only two persons or things, of which the superior causes shame to the other. By the fourth century *aidôs* has become synonymous with post-Homeric *aîskhûnē*, and both are reactions to things *aîskhrá*. *Aîskhos*, an external cause of shame in Homer, is later restricted to physical deformity, which can be described as *aîskhrôn* because it engenders laughter. Though often used of Thersites and other examples of deformity, English "ugly" disguises the shame and potential for laughter in such cases.

The epithets of Thersites that describe his physical abnormalities are entirely appropriate to a shame-causing person. As *pholkós*, Thersites squints in the sense of turning the eyes aside, not in the colloquial English sense of peering through partially closed eyes. Antiquity's clear conviction of this meaning for *pholkós* is defended against the generally successful nineteenth-century efforts to redefine the word,

since a number of other characters in Greek literature cause shame by squinting, from the *Litai* of *Iliad* IX to Socrates in Aristophanes and in Plato.

Thersites *phoxós* had a pointed head, of which the potential for laughter and reproach was exploited by the Athenian comedians in the case of Pericles. Two characters, one historical, one literary, achieve the effect of a pointed head by wearing the *pilidion*, a pointed cap, to avoid incurring a penalty for speaking illegally. Solon wore a *pilidion* when he recited verses on the *aískhos* of Salamis, Dikaiopolis when he would avoid charges of slander likely to be pressed by Cleon. Other details in the tradition of Solon's delivering his Salamis elegiacs are perhaps curious in themselves but consonant with persons, actions, and events that cause shame. For example, Solon reportedly recited his elegiacs after casting off his cloak, just as Odysseus restraining the troops in *Iliad* II 183 wore only a *khitón* when he rebuked them for cowardly flight. Similar abbreviated dress ascribed to Cleon and Gaius Gracchus when each used abusive language in his speeches and spoke *ametríōs* in a tradition exemplified by Thersites *ametroepés* (*Iliad* II 212).

That Solon deliberately made himself *aískhrós* to achieve immunity from prosecution indicates that verbal opposition to current policy may be tolerated from such an *aískhrós*, even if such opposition causes shame to the established authorities. That provision for such potentially shame-causing criticism should have been made in a society where shame was keenly felt, as in epic literature and archaic Greece, suggests that the society found points of view different from those of its leadership socially beneficial at least on occasion. The hypothesis is that in order to allow for a point of view that is socially beneficial but perhaps critical of persons in authority, a person shame-causing in appearance may deliver a shame-causing speech, whereupon the shamed target of the speech would have grounds in his critic's appearance to reciprocate by directing words of shame against the deformed, asymmetrical shame-causer. In similar fashion the biographical traditions of poets whose verses may cause shame (Tyrtaeus, Hipponax, Aesop, Sappho) report that the poets are shame-causing in appearance and form.

All of which indicates that Thersites has a verbal role in the social sphere, as does Odysseus who confronts him in *Iliad* II. Charged by Athena to restrain by his words the men fleeing to their ships, Odysseus performs the role of *koíranos*, whose function, as is clear from the Epipolesis in *Iliad* IV, is to embolden (*tharsúneske*, IV 233) and rebuke (*neikeíeske*, IV 241). But Odysseus encounters Thersites, himself an emboldened and emboldening rebuker, who of his own accord temporarily upsets the task of verbal persuasion legitimately assigned to

Odysseus. Calling for one *koíranos* and stating that *polukoiraníē* is not a good thing, Odysseus is not presenting political theory but making a claim for his own verbal role momentarily threatened by words from the *ándres démou* and Thersites. Thus the conflict between Odysseus and Thersites is not based on political philosophy or grounded in friction between social classes in prehistoric or archaic Greece. It is rather the earliest example of a conflict resulting from a technique of persuasion and advocacy by means of shame-causing words that is occasionally exploited not only in all periods of Greek history and literature but even in the age of Rome.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Degree in Classical Philology 1980

DONALD F. McCABE — *The Prose-Rhythm of Demosthenes*

The dissertation is an attempt to use the computer to study Demosthenes' prose-rhythm and especially the extent to which different works of his obey Blass's Law (Friedrich Blass's observation that Demosthenes avoided juxtaposing more than two shorts).

In the introduction, Blass's Law is defined. Blass's own use of his law is then summarized. Although he did not use it as a positive test of authenticity, data concerning small samples of Demosthenes and other authors suggest that it can be so used. Because Blass wanted his law to lack exceptions, he misused it and defined it inadequately. Later studies have been similarly inadequate. The computer makes it possible to avoid some faults of these studies.

In chapter one, "Ancient Writers on Prose Style," the views of ancient writers on various aspects of prose style related to this study are examined. Ancient writers were concerned with prose-rhythm since the time of Isocrates, but they have little to say about Demosthenes' rhythm. No ancient observation of Blass's Law can be found. Ancient writers observed that Isocrates avoided hiatus systematically and Demosthenes avoided it to a lesser extent. Some ancient authors classify various kinds of hiatus as more and less desirable. There is no agreement among ancient writers on whether short syllables at sentence-end were lengthened.

In chapter two, "Texts," it is decided what text of Demosthenes should be given to the computer to analyze. A comparison of the Oxford text of Demosthenes with the best manuscript of Demosthenes shows that their texts do not differ significantly with respect to rhythm except for differences between them resulting from the optional nature

of elision. An examination of the papyri and chief manuscripts of Demosthenes shows that in an overwhelming majority of cases they agree on whether or not to use elided spelling. It also shows that there is a relationship between the length of a word (especially when its length is measured in syllables) and its likelihood of being written with the elided spelling. Study of Isocrates shows that he avoided placing words of a length favoring unelided spelling in positions where hiatus would result from the failure to elide. It follows that the spelling of the manuscripts may well indicate whether Demosthenes in delivery elided words. The Oxford text, which often disagrees with the manuscripts on elision, is therefore unreliable on this point. There is no such general agreement among the manuscripts and papyri concerning movable nu, but the Byzantine rule regarding its placement, which the printed editions follow, is not obeyed. The Oxford text should therefore not be trusted on this point either. A comparison of pre-Blass printed editions of Demosthenes shows that Bekker's is closest to the best manuscript: it is fairly reliable concerning elision, although it is not at all reliable concerning movable nu.

In chapter three, "Computer Programs," the programs are described which made it possible to enter into a computer texts of the corpora of Demosthenes and Isaeus in the form which the textual studies of chapter two had suggested, to insert into the texts symbols indicating length and other relevant characteristics of syllables, and to extract these symbols in such a way as to facilitate making counts of various sorts of syllabic patterns, most notably, rhythmic patterns.

In chapter four, "Data," preliminary counts verify the at least approximate truth of Blass's Law. On the basis of this result, it is shown that in Demosthenes short syllables at sentence-end are lengthened. It is next shown that the conditions of Attic correption are the same as for Attic comedy. Counts are then made of clausula-distributions, of total rhythmic patterns, and of frequency of hiatus which suggest which works in the corpus of Demosthenes may be authentic.

In chapter five, "Conclusions," the application of the counts made in the previous chapter to authenticity of works in the corpus of Demosthenes is discussed, and the conclusions of the dissertation are summarized.

The dissertation has three appendices. The first two of these explain some of the statistical methods used in the study. The third summarizes the reasons why various works in the corpus of Demosthenes have been considered spurious or doubtful.

ROBERT CHARLES STODDART — *Pindar and Greek Family Law*

Some of the lines of Pindar that are most difficult to interpret allude to Greek social practices that the Attic orators describe in detail. By comparing Attic oratory with the earliest legal documents of the Greeks and of other Indo-European peoples I have tried to establish how Pindar's contemporaries understood the passages in his odes that refer to inheritance, testimony under oath, and marriage.

All heirs were obliged to offer each year at the tomb of their benefactor the sacrifices without which he could not find rest in the afterlife. When a father disposed of his estate, he could rely upon the natural piety of his son to care for his spirit, but a childless man feared that he might be leaving his wealth to an ingrate who would ignore his duties. The word *ἄλλότριος*, in the orators, connotes the characteristics of such an heir: negligence, impiety, and the inability to take part in the *sacra* of the testator's family.

Pindar explains why a childless old man rejoices at the birth of a son: "A dying man loathes his wealth if it must fall to a custodian brought in from elsewhere, an *ἄλλότριος*" (*O.*10.88–90). Like the old man, the boy victor Hagesidamos has an estate to leave behind — the glory he won at Olympia; he too has no heir to receive his bequest and care for his soul, until Pindar's ode secures him the same sort of immortality a son brings his father: when Hagesidamos is dead, the lyre and flute will "sprinkle grace" upon him (that is, upon his tomb) like a libation (*O.*10.93–94).

Cities granted victors in the Panhellenic games the privileges of state benefactors, but if a victor's fellow citizens became jealous, he could neither enjoy these honors himself nor bequeath them to his descendants. To ward off such jealousy from his clients, Pindar employs an argument that is commonplace in Attic oratory — that a good citizen must encourage the city's benefactors and punish the wicked.

This "good citizen" topos explains a controversial passage, *P.*11.50–58. These lines describe two separate persons: one gains a middle position in the city (*μέσα*, 52) and labors to advance the common good; the other attains the heights (*ἄκρον*, 55) and leaves glory to his own family (57–58). The latter is the victor; the former is a common citizen, whose duty to praise the good and punish the wicked is here expressed in a roundabout way: "I exert myself in favor of accomplishments that serve the common good, and the jealous defend themselves [*sc.* from my attack]" (54).

The notion that a poet's testimony preserves a glorious career from oblivion is fundamental to the epinician genre, but the procedure of bearing witness changed so much between the fifth and the fourth centuries that we can discover what Pindar meant by *testimony*, *witness*,

and *oath* only by comparing Attic oratory with earlier legal documents.

Before the Greek legal system developed, any contested claim could have caused a private war between the clans of the claimants. When the trial replaced the battle as the means of settling disputes, words that were originally military became legal technical terms: *βοηθεῖν* and *ἐπικουρεῖν*, which once denoted physical rescue, came to mean "to bear witness; to assist in court."

In the seventh *Nemean*, lines 33–50, the "helper" who went to Delphi (*βοαθοῶν* . . . *μόλον*, 33–34) and the "witness" (49) are the same person — Pindar, not Neoptolemos — and *μόλον*, first person singular, does not refer to a performance of *Paean* 6: the poet announces that he has come as a witness to Delphi; this Delphi, however, is a topic in a poem.

Pindar the witness makes a similar journey, this time by mule cart, to the family history of Hagesias of Syracuse (*O.*6.22–25). When Pindar takes such poetic trips, he sometimes loses his way (*P.*11.38–40; *N.*3.26–27) or meets a friend by the roadside — that is, he comes upon a congenial topic like Alcmaeon (*P.*8.56–60). The purpose of a poet's journey is to help his clients by supporting their claims: Pindar promises to travel as a witness to Olympia if Hieron's chariot should win (*ἐπικουρον εὐρών ὁδὸν λόγων* *O.*1.110); and like a witness of earlier times he will be armed and ready to do battle (*O.*1.110–12; cf. *O.*2.89–92; *O.*13.93–97).

Pindar seldom swears to his testimony, since even an innocent mistake made under oath could bring the anger of the gods upon the entire family of the witness. In the thirteenth *Olympian*, lines 96–100, Pindar comes as a witness for the Oligathidai though he is unsure of the number of their victories (44–46); he must therefore refuse to testify about each victory individually, and the large number of summonses will itself excuse him from the duty to be specific (*ἔξορκος ἐπέσσειται*, 99). The word *ἔξομνύναι*, in Attic oratory, means "to swear that one is unable to testify"; it forms the word *ἔξορκος* by analogy (*ὀμνύναι* : *ὄρκος* :: *ἔξομνύναι* : *ἔξορκος*).

In the Greek marriage, delivery of the bride to the groom (*ἐκδοσις*) followed a public declaration of intent (*ἐγγύη*), during which the bride's guardian (*κύριος*) fixed the dowry. A law of Solon required the *κύριος* to betroth the bride; but earlier, the head of the clan settled the financial preliminaries of a marriage.

The ceremony described in a simile at *O.*7.1–10 is such a pre-Solonian *ἐγγύη*: both the father of the bride and the poet receive from their chiefs a gift that they bestow upon a young man, causing him to be admired. The Muses are the heads of Pindar's clan; the victor is the son-in-law; and Pindar's ward, the bride whom he entrusts to the

victor and whom the Muses dower with the potion of immortality, is the song itself — *Μοισᾶν θύγατρες ἀοιδαί* (N.4.3).

When one of Pindar's gods sports with nymphs or mortal women, he usually sires legitimate offspring. The elaborate genealogy of Cyrene given at *P.*9.13–18 shows that Cheiron is her father's first cousin and one of the few senior males of her clan who is not a topographical feature; he performs her *ἐγγύη* and guarantees the legality of her marriage (51–65). The consent of the *κύριος* may have legitimated even children born before marriage. After Apollo, in *O.*6, acknowledges Iamos as his son, Aipytos, the mother's guardian, announces Apollo's paternity before his household and approves the union; Iamos is then five days old (53). By the fifth day after birth a child was either abandoned or accepted into his family.

Asklepios, in *P.*3, is illegitimate not because Apollo refuses to arrange matters with the mother's *κύριος*, but because Coronis herself scorns Apollo's marriage proposal: the god wishes the purity of his seed to be preserved (15); he also wishes Coronis to await the coming of a marriage feast (16). That marriage can therefore be only a marriage with Apollo himself. Coronis, however, prefers quick gratification, and suffers for it.

To interpret Pindar using the evidence offered by Attic oratory is to assume that social customs and the Greek sense of equity changed little between the fifth and fourth centuries, however much specific regulations and statutes may have changed. I believe such an assumption is possible, and that the orators can demonstrate what Pindar himself meant; but even if they show only how a fourth-century Athenian may have understood the odes, their testimony is valuable.

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